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MAJOR BOULTON

ON THE

NORTH WEST REBELLIONS.

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FOR

CANADIAN HISTORY

ESTABLISHED IN 1908

REMINISCENCES

OF THE

North-West Rebellions.

Fred Middleton

Major-General, Commanding Canadian Militia.

REMINISCENCES

OF THE

North-West Rebellions,

WITH

A RECORD OF THE RAISING OF HER MAJESTY'S 100TH REGIMENT IN CANADA,

AND A CHAPTER ON

CANADIAN SOCIAL & POLITICAL LIFE,

BY

MAJOR BOULTON,

COMMANDING BOULTON'S SCOUTS.

"A restlessness in men's minds to be something they are not, or to have something they have not, is the root of all immorality or good."

TORONTO:

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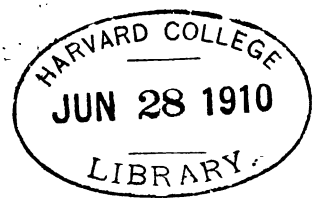

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Entered according to the Act of the Parliament of Canada, in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six, by CHARLES A. BOULTON, in the Office of the Minister of Agriculture.

TO THE

OFFICERS AND MEN COMPOSING MY CORPS

DURING THE CAMPAIGN OF 1885,

As a Token of Respect and Esteem for Them,

I DEDICATE THIS VOLUME.

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ERRATA.

Page 85, title of wood-cut, instead of "Fort Garry," read "Winnipeg in 1869, showing Dr. Schultz's house on the right."

Page 254, for "Milas Riley Jones," read "Miles O'Reilly Jarvis."

PREFACE.

THE reminiscences of an actor in two rebellions in the Canadian North-West may not unreasonably be expected to interest the people of the Dominion, and in some degree to arrest attention in the wider circle of the Empire. The peril that menaced the North-West, during both insurrections, was for a time great. In the first revolt, fortune signally favoured the country; and, without bloodshed, Canada was happily delivered from trouble. In the later rebellion, the heroism and endurance of her loyal sons enabled the country to overcome sedition and to quell the rising. How and by whom this was effected, forms the burden of the following pages. To a great extent the work is a personal narrative of the two rebellions; which are here treated of as a whole and in detail. For the personal narrative, no apology, I take it, is necessary, as the record of an eye-witness of passing events of moment has admittedly the merit of freshness and interest. That it has these, the author, with becoming modesty, hopes. I have inserted the names of the officers and men who served in the campaign of 1885, for which I am indebted to the Grip Printing and Publishing Company. It is taken from the list of names already compiled by them for their work. These, with the list of killed and wounded, also the official despatches of Major-General Sir Fred. Middleton and the other commanding officers will, I trust, make it a valuable book for future reference.

THE AUTHOR.

RUSSELL, SHELL RIVER, MANITOBA,
February 4th, 1886.

REMINISCENCES

OF THE

NORTH-WEST REBELLIONS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE events which have transpired since Canada first conceived the idea of acquiring possession of the North-West Territory, formerly known as the Hudson's Bay Territory, are of so much interest and importance that I have endeavoured to write an account of them. I may claim to have some little right to undertake this task, as I have myself borne part in many of the scenes here portrayed, and with the exception of Mr. Mair, of Prince Albert, who acted as Quarter-Master of the Governor-General's Body Guard, I am the only one who took an active part in both rebellions that I am aware of. I, nevertheless, realize the responsibility of dealing with questions in which so many prominent men of the country have been actors; but as not a few of the incidents came within my own personal knowledge I have not hesitated on this account to deal with them. I endeavour to give a detailed and connected account of the interest-

ing and stirring events which have occurred in the Canadian North-West, and to add one more book to the many that will go to make its history. I do so with diffidence, feeling that my literary ability is not equal to placing these occurrences before my readers in as attractive a form as would be adopted by one more accustomed to write; but what is lacking in that respect, I have endeavoured to make up by interesting fact and anecdote and by truthful narration.

I open my book by giving an account of the raising of the 100th Regiment, because this circumstance has either been almost forgotten or is unknown to many of the present generation. For the sake of the corps also, in which not a few Canadians spent many years of their lives, I have taken the opportunity of preserving a record of this important event in the history of the country; and because several of its officers and men held positions of trust in the force that was employed during the recent campaign.

The responsibility of governing such a large territory by Canadians who, up to the year 1867, formed a number of separate colonies, and who lacked experience in dealing with such vast interests, was great; and it is an evidence of the ability which our people possess in being able to govern such a Dominion as is now comprised within the limits of Canada. It would be impossible almost to accomplish the blending of so many diverse elements and

interests without occasionally making mistakes; and it is manifest that no little wisdom has been displayed, in being able to correct the mistakes when they occurred. If that wisdom had not been so effectively displayed the whole current of affairs in Canada might have been altered. The same remark is applicable to the conduct of the campaign which has just closed. With the exception of the very few who had seen foreign service, the officers and men upon whom devolved the burden of putting down the late rebellion had no experience in dealing with such an emergency at its commencement or in its suppression. Nevertheless, few mistakes were made throughout the whole campaign, including the events which led up to it; and this fact deserves especial notice.

One prominent object I have in writing my book is to preserve a record of the services of my own men, that they may have for future reference an accurate account of the duties they performed, and that the district in which I live may be able to preserve a history of the late rebellion, and some satisfaction in the part the pioneers of the district were enabled to take in upholding the laws of their newly-adopted country and in helping to preserve their settlements from the dangers which threatened them. In my narrative, if I have given a greater degree of prominence to their services, it is for their sake, and because I feel it a duty I owe to them. A great many

interesting accounts could be written by other members of the force, dealing more minutely with particular events which came under their notice; and it is possible that I have left out a great deal which I either did not witness or have overlooked. As I have written this book, however, on my homestead, where I had no access to documents that would have assisted me, allowance must considerately be made for any shortcomings in this respect.

The narrative will show how, by the ambition of one man, who was utterly reckless of the lives and property of others, a country may be plunged into difficulties. Riel stands out boldly as the chief actor in the history, and his career shows plainly that if he had applied his abilities to seek by constitutional means to give expression to the wants of his people, instead of tyrannically usurping authority to serve his own ambitious purposes, he might have lived to be useful to his country.

Riel played for a big personal stake, and hoped by uniting the Indians and half-breeds to overcome the country and to dictate terms, and he lost. He now stands as an example to anyone who is foolhardy enough to pursue the same tactics in Canada.

At the end of my book I have added a chapter upon the social and political life of the country, feeling that Canada offers the best inducements to intending emigrants to make new and prosperous homes for themselves. In this chapter I have endeavoured to give as much infor-

mation as possible to those of my readers who may purpose moving from the overcrowded centres of the Old World to carve out homes for themselves in the New.

I have touched slightly upon political questions, because I believe it is the duty of every one, no matter in how humble a sphere he may act, to lead his countrymen to higher hopes and aspirations, when the opportunity offers.

I have inserted the three addresses which welcomed myself and my corps on our return home. They are a sample of the patriotic and affectionate greetings which met every officer and man of the Canadian militia on his return to civil life after the campaign. The enthusiasm that prevailed was caused, not only by the admiration of the Canadian people for the manner in which the troops behaved, but from a sense of relief that a general Indian rising—thanks to the valour of the troops—had been averted.

I have also inserted the names of every member of the Canadian militia who took part in the expedition, so far as I could obtain them, in order that they may be able to preserve their identification with so honourable a campaign. As the names, however, are only interesting to individuals, it will not be considered necessary to insert them for any longer time than to give each member of the force an opportunity of purchasing a copy.

I will be glad to receive any corrections or additional

incidents from my readers, to help me to make my work more perfect, in case I might be encouraged by public favour to issue a second edition. And in anticipation of a second edition being called for, I beg to offer fifty dollars for the best verses upon "Patriotism to Canada and Loyalty to the Empire," in accordance with the spirit of my book, to be written by the first of July next, for insertion in a second edition, should it be called for, and forwarded to S. HEATH, 40 Yonge Street, Toronto, or to the AUTHOR, who will take the best means to secure an unprejudiced opinion upon the respective merits of the verses offered for competition.

CHAPTER I

Raising of the 100th Regiment

In 1858, a favourable opportunity presented itself for me to join the British army, of which I, a lad of sixteen, took eager advantage. The Canadian newspapers were at the time full of the 100th Regiment, which was being raised in the colony for service in India. I had just left Upper Canada College, and, with youthful enthusiasm, was anxious to see something of the world; and a military career seemed to offer a coveted opportunity for gratifying my tastes. There was not at that time the facilities for joining the British army that now offers through the Royal Military College. I had to make enquiries as to what the 100th Regiment was, how it was to be raised, and what chance there was of obtaining a commission.

Previous to the time of which I write, England was horror-stricken at the atrocities of the Sepoy mutiny in India; her Indian empire was at stake, and a handful of English people, who at that time occupied and governed the East Indian Dominions, were in grave peril. The country had hardly recovered from the effects of the Crimean

War when this mutiny broke out. A large portion of the English militia had been called out; twenty-five second battalions had been raised, and the demands upon England's recruiting power were exhausting the available supply. For the first time in the history of the mother-country, England came to one of her great colonies to assist her in recruiting her army, a fact interesting to the Canadian people, as it led to the formation of the first colonial regiment ever furnished for British service abroad.

I cannot pass on without giving some reminiscences of the first ten years' service of the 100th Regiment, which in 1858 marched out of Canada twelve hundred strong. So many of its members are still scattered throughout Canada, that my brief narrative, I venture to think, may not be unacceptable.

The Governor-General, Sir Edmund Walker Head, was entrusted with the authority necessary to raise the regiment and to appoint the Canadian officers. He was to select from among Canadians the whole of the men, four ensigns, eight lieutenants, six captains, and one major. The remaining officers were to be appointed from the army on the arrival of the regiment in England. The colonelcy was given to the Baron de Rottenburg, Adjutant-General of Militia, an experienced military man well qualified to take command.

Obtaining my parent's consent, and accompanied by my father, I set out for Toronto to wait upon Sir Edmund

Head with an application for a commission. To my chagrin I learned that all the commissions had been given away; but I was relieved at finding that each commission carried with it the responsibility of having to raise a certain number of men. The major had to raise two hundred; each captain, eighty; and each lieutenant, forty men. Having received a promise from the Governor-General that, should a vacancy occur, I might obtain it, I immediately returned, determined to raise forty men, and trust to the failure of some officer in procuring the required number.

My father supplied me with what necessary funds I wanted, lent me his waggon and a pair of horses, and I engaged a friend who played the bagpipes, the only musical instrument I could procure in the neighbourhood, for recruiting purposes. With an old-fashioned uniform, lent me by an officer who had early settled in the country, I started off to visit the neighbouring villages to recruit; and I need hardly say that I was the envy and admiration of every youth of my own age who witnessed my progress through the country. At the end of a fortnight I had got together twenty of as fine, young, backwoods fellows as one could wish to see. With them I marched to Cobourg, thence to Toronto, to have them accepted by the authorities, after which I returned to complete the number necessary to qualify for the commission of lieutenant. I might here say that I secured my first detach-

ment in Peterborough and Lindsay, two growing towns in the interior; and in the neighbouring counties; by taking a different route, in the direction of Campbellford and Percy, I was not long in obtaining the full complement. Great consternation was occasioned in some families who were not accustomed in Canada to have a call from the recruiting-sergeant. One young fellow in Peterborough, named Skeffington, I had great difficulty in secreting from his mother, who was nearly heartbroken at the prospect of losing him. He afterwards became a first-class musician, receiving his first training in the band, and never repented of his venture.

My enterprise was successful. As it happened, one of the officers elect dropped out, and I obtained a commission as ensign.

The regiment was thoroughly Canadian, having been recruited in a similar manner to that which I have related, by the various officers in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec; many of the men being of French origin.

Lieutenant Alexander R. Dunn, of Toronto, an old Upper Canada College boy, and son of a former Receiver-General, was appointed Major. He had distinguished himself in the charge at Balaclava, as an officer of the 11th Hussars, and for his bravery had received the Victoria Cross. Lieutenant Dunn was the only cavalry officer who received the Victoria Cross in the Crimea. It was presented to the general officer of the cavalry

to award, and by the general consent of the survivors of all ranks the choice fell upon him. Dunn having resigned his commission in the 11th, was on a visit to Toronto at the opportune moment, and was anxious to join the 100th, and, as I have said, was successful in obtaining the majority.

The remainder of the Canadian officers for the contingent were selected from the militia in Upper and Lower Canada, and the regiment was organized in the old historic citadel of Quebec.

The regiment, for want of a better, was uniformed in the relics of bygone ages, stowed away among the military stores of the country. It only lacked "pigtails and powder" to make it appear as if one of the Duke's veteran battalions of the Peninsula had come to life. Especially curious to the people of England was the motley uniform of the 100th, for the old coatee had been long forgotten; and on our arrival in England we marched to Shorncliffe Camp in this picturesque but obsolete uniform. The English people wondered what kind of soldiers had landed on their shores.

In the months of June and July, 1858, the regiment embarked from Quebec in three detachments. The first under Colonel de Rottenburg, commanding; the second under Colonel Gordon, of the 17th Regiment; and the third under Major Dunn. We were joined at Shorncliffe by the army officers appointed to fill up the quota,

several of whom were promoted from the 32nd, for their heroic services in the defence of Lucknow. Regulation uniforms—scarlet, with blue facings—were at once furnished the regiment, and non-commissioned officers from the Guards in London were sent for six months to drill all ranks, from the "goose step" up. The regiment was accorded the title of "The Prince of Wales Royal Canadian Regiment," and the Prince himself, then only seventeen years old, presented the colours, this being the first public act he performed by virtue of his position. Ensigns Moorsom and Ridout, the two seniors of that rank, receiving them from his hands.

The average height of the men was five feet seven inches, a high standard; and under the drill of the non-commissioned officers of the Guards, they soon became proficient in their duties, and acquired so soldierly a bearing that it would be difficult for friends left behind in Canada to recognize them.

Shorncliffe Camp had accommodation for half a dozen battalions, and was a pleasant station, situated on the south coast of England, with high, commanding cliffs overlooking the sea, the French coast being within sight. It was, moreover, within easy reach of Folkstone and Dover, whence the Channel boats ply between the respective ports of Boulogne and Calais. The regiment spent nine months here, and was then ordered to Aldershot, where camp life was on a larger and grander scale.

Here, at that time, were about thirty thousand troops who took part in a grand review, under the Duke of Cambridge, and were inspected by Her Majesty the Queen. In a few weeks, marching orders for Gibraltar were issued, the state of Europe at the time leading us to hope that active service was possible. The regiment embarked at Portsmouth in the year 1859, and in a few days was upon the scene of the famed battle of Trafalgar and within sight of "Old Gib."

Gibraltar rises out of the sea like a huge beaver (the most apt illustration to a Canadian); Europa Point sloping towards the sea, forming, as it were, the flat tail of the beaver, and its head towards Spain, at which point its height is nearly 1,500 feet. The rock commands a portion of the Straits of Gibraltar, and with Cape Tarifa on the Spanish coast and the bold shores of Africa on the south, enclose the straits, which are about fifteen miles wide. Gibraltar and the Spanish Main form a magnificent bay, celebrated in history by the capture, in 1704, of the famous rock-citadel, and its gallant defence, from 1779 to 1782, against the combined forces of France and Spain. A peculiar feature here is, that while the tide rises to an immense height on the Atlantic entrance to the straits, within a few miles, on the Mediterranean side, the tide ceases, hence the latter is called the "tideless sea." The current runs from the Atlantic into the Mediterranean at a rapid rate, and vessels from the bay

are frequently wind-bound, being unable to beat out against the strong current. It was no unusual thing to see at one time several hundred vessels, wind-bound for a month, waiting a favourable breeze to carry them through; and a grand sight to view them from the New Mole Guard at morning's dawn, with full canvas set, simultaneously taking advantage of the first fair wind. Strong tugs, I believe, are now used to tow vessels out. Gibraltar is a place of marvellous strength, carrying in her batteries and galleries some fifteen hundred guns, all pointing towards the bay and Spanish mainland and straits. The Mediterranean side is inaccessible, on account of its perpendicular rock rising many hundred feet from the level of the sea. Out of the rock have been cut galleries with port-holes for cannon; and it is possible to point from these galleries and batteries more than a hundred guns at a ship lying in any part of the bay. The only ice ever formed there is, on rare occasions, at the signal station on the top of the rock.

The regiment was stationed at Gibraltar from 1859 until 1863, during which period many stirring events occurred in Europe and America, which, however, did not disturb the peacefulness of the garrison. Notable among these events were Garibaldi's strike for liberty, the war between France and Austria, that between Germany and Austria; and from the rock could be observed through powerful glasses the fight that was going on between

Spain and Morocco on the opposite coast. The most memorable event, however, that occurred during this period was the great Civil War in America, which astounded the world by its numerous battles, the vastness of the resources displayed, and the determination of "the Northerners," at any hazard, to maintain the integrity of their country.

We had the opportunity of witnessing from the top of the rock the burning by the *Sumter* of several vessels at more than a league distant from us on the Mediterranean side, and the quiet episode of the two American vessels which immediately afterwards occupied our waters in the Bay of Gibraltar. The Confederate cruiser *Sumter*, under the command of the celebrated Captain Semmes, had taken shelter under the guns, and the American war-vessel *Kearsarge*, Captain Winslowe in command, kept quiet watch in Algesciras Bay to see that she did not escape to commit depredations upon American shipping. It was interesting to see the commanders of these vessels occasionally reading together in our library, and enjoying the hospitality of our clubs, the officers of both vessels being entertained in turn by the officers of the 100th Regiment. We were startled one day by the news that Captain Semmes and his officers had taken passage in the mail steamer for England, there to take command of the *Alabama*, which afterwards gained such notoriety. The Captain of the *Kearsarge* was not slow, however, in

following Semmes, whom he finally brought to bay and defeated, in the naval fight near Cherbourg. Captain Semmes with his crew escaped in a steam yacht, the *Deerhound*, to England, a hero for the while.

Life in Gibraltar was full of instruction and amusement. While we were stationed there it was garrisoned by seven thousand men, engineers, artillery, and infantry. It was also the station for several men-of-war, with occasional visits from the Mediterranean and Channel fleets. There was, moreover, good opportunity for visiting the two interesting countries, Spain and Africa, which were both within easy reach. Periodically, the Minister for Morocco, Sir John Drummond Hay, paid State visits to the Emperor in the city of Morocco, on various public missions. It was the ambition of officers to have the privilege of accompanying him on these interesting trips, but one or two only were allowed to go. I was anxious to make this trip, but it was difficult for an ensign to obtain such a privilege, as there were so many senior officers desirous of going. Nevertheless, I determined to make an effort, and went about it in an indirect way. A young officer of my own age, named Prior, now a Lieutenant-Colonel, and myself obtained six weeks' leave to go shooting in Africa. To get across the Straits, we applied to the Captain of the Port, now Admiral Ommaney, for leave to go in the gunboat *Redpole*, which was to convey Sir John Hay down the coast to Mogador. This was

granted, and on arriving at Tangiers, Sir John Hay gave us permission to accompany him as far as Mogador on our shooting expedition, warning us at the same time that we must not expect to go further. We had, however, the pleasure and privilege of accompanying Sir John on his mission throughout. Some presents customary to be given on such visits had been sent out to the Emperor by the Queen, but as these had not arrived we were left at Mazagan to await the coming of Lord Dangan, who was expected with them. Lord Dangan, however, did not arrive with the presents. When they came forward, we consequently went on with them, under an escort of Moorish cavalry, to Morocco. This was a somewhat hazardous trip at that time, on account of the disturbed state of the tribes. I got a sunstroke on the trip, which compelled me to return to Gibraltar before its termination, but not, however, without having seen one of the most interesting parts of Africa and the relics of Moorish grandeur.

The following year an opportunity presented itself of paying a visit to Canada with a friend, who intended venturing across the Atlantic in his yacht of a hundred tons burden. Having obtained leave, we sailed from Gibraltar on the twenty-third of March, and after visiting Xeres, famous for its sherry, and Seville, the capital of Andalusia, sailed from Cadiz on the thirtieth inst., straight west to the Azores, thence north to St. John's, Newfoundland. As far as the Azores we enjoyed beautiful weather,

but from these islands until we reached St. John's, on the first of May, there was a continuous succession of severe gales. Our intention was to go up the St. Lawrence to Quebec, but the ice had not gone out of the river. We saw two or three shipwrecked crews badly frozen in their open boats attempting to get in during that cold and stormy period. Our plans were changed in consequence. I took steamer for Canada by way of Boston, and my friend intended remaining to have some fishing, and was shortly to follow in his yacht, and pick me up at Halifax on my return from Ontario. Unfortunately, however, while off the Banks, his yacht was wrecked on an iceberg, but he and his crew were saved in the gig. At St. John's Newfoundland, the people viewed with astonishment this little yacht anchored in their Bay, supposed by some to have been sent out by the Prince of Wales, who had visited their island on his trip to Canada and the United States the previous year. After spending two or three months in Canada, I returned to Gibraltar by mail steamer.

It was at Gibraltar I first had the pleasure of meeting General Middleton, Commander of the Canadian Militia, but at the time Brigade-Major of the garrison. I was out yachting with Colonel Dunn in the Straits of Gibraltar, when we had the misfortune to lose overboard Captain Coulson, a brother officer of my regiment. A brother of this officer was recently in Canada as A.D.C. to Lord Dufferin. The sea was running high and the current was

against us. After making several ineffectual attempts, under close reef, we found it impossible to put about and pick him up. We cruised about all night, and returned in the early morning to tell the sad tale. A fortnight afterwards occurred an incident of interest. We were out yachting in the Bay, and without any warning, Captain Middleton (now General, Sir Fred. Middleton), who was with us, jumped overboard, and shouted out, "Man overboard," with the view of giving us some practice. We failed to pick him up for half an hour, when he was pretty well exhausted.

Gibraltar is a charming garrison station, with a sufficient amount of duty to obtain a thorough military training, guard duty coming round every third night. The 100th Regiment embodied in its ranks a large number of educated men. Among these was a young college graduate, who possessed a strong poetic temperament, and was given to rhyming on every possible occasion. While at Gibraltar this youth happened to be on sentry duty, and was accosted by the officer going the rounds, when the following ludicrous dialogue occurred:

Officer.—What are your orders, sir?
Sentry.—Sir, my orders were to guard the shot and shell,
Likewise the water in the well,
And all the shrubs and trees about,
And challenge all when lights are out!
Officer.—Who the d——l gave you such orders, sir?
Sentry.—Sir, these were the orders I received
From the sentry I relieved.

Many similar incidents could be related of our garrison life at this time. The amusements of the place were numerous. A good pack of hounds was kept, which had occasionally been transported across the Straits to take a run in Africa. There was a spring and autumn race meeting, which was entered into enthusiastically. Cricket and football and all the athletic amusements that soldiers enjoy were also indulged in. The carnival, the chief features of which were the *bals masque* at the theatre, was among the old standard institutions of the place, and gave rise to many an intrigue, creating great interest for on-lookers. Sir William Codrington, of Crimean fame, was the Governor of the Garrison, and about that time became father-in-law to the gallant General Earle, then his military secretary, and who lately lost his life in the Soudan.

In 1861 Colonel de Rottenburg retired from the service, and, by purchase, Lieutenant-Colonel Dunn succeeded to the command of the regiment. Colonel Dunn, however, did not remain long attached, for he exchanged to the 33rd, then in India, and afterwards was in the Abyssinian campaign. Colonel Dunn was one of the few who lost his life during the advance on Magdala, having been accidentally shot while out on a day's sport.

Through the courtesy of Colonel Sweeny, formerly of the 4th King's Own, and now a resident of Toronto, I am able to append here the facts connected with the death of Colonel Dunn. As Colonel Sweeny was at the time

Provost-Marshal of the First Division of the Abyssinian Expeditionary Force, commanded by Lord Napier, and had the painful duty of collecting the evidence of Colonel Dunn's death, the facts may be relied on as related by Colonel Sweeny. Colonel Dunn was a great sportsman and a capital shot, and had gone out on one occasion for a day's shooting on the upper plateau at the head of the Soorow Pass. Taking with him a rifle, with hair trigger attachment, he appears to have tired of his exertions, and sat down to rest on a stone, despatching a native attendant for water to a stream near by. On the return of the native, he found the Colonel still seated on the stone, with the rifle lying across his knees. The Colonel, on reaching forward to take a drink from the leather mussack, or Government water-skin, allowed the rifle to slip from his knees, and in falling to the ground with some force it exploded the charge in one of the barrels, which entered the Colonel's body, killing him instantly. His body was brought to camp, where his loss was mourned by the whole force, for no more popular officer ever commanded the 33rd, and he was a general favourite with all ranks composing the expedition. But he was specially beloved by his own men; and seldom was such unfeigned regret seen as was manifested by all officers and men under him at the sad news of his untimely death. He was buried at the little cemetery near the camp with military

honours, the whole force being present at the obsequies. A sentinel stone marks his lonely grave.

I may here relate an accident that befel me while in Gibraltar, through the recklessness of an officer, as a practical joke. While returning from my detachment at Catalan Bay, I met some officers who were practising with their pistols. One of them boasted that he could cut a hole through my hat, and to do this he presented his pistol. Turning my head slightly to one side, not dreaming the pistol loaded, I received a severe bullet wound upon the crown of my head. I was immediately a subject for surgical skill, and the doctors assembled to deal with my case. They probed and cut away to ascertain the damage, but my head being so swollen they were unable to find the bullet. When cut out two years afterwards, the bullet was found flattened on the skull. In the meantime I recovered; but for a while the officer had painful visions of manslaughter floating before him.

Another interesting reminiscence of our stay in Gibraltar was the arrival of a French man-of-war conveying troops to Mexico, for the aid of Maximilian. The vessel was on fire in her coal hole, and the troops had to be disembarked and the vessel unloaded in order to put out the fire. The troops camped near us on the neutral ground, a strip of land between the British territory and the Spanish mainland. We followed with interest the

report of their fortunes for awhile, until the sad death of the unhappy Maximilian.

A reminiscence of sunny Spain would not be complete without recalling the national amusement of bull-fighting, so I shall attempt to give my recollection of the brutal spectacle.

The professional bull-fighter generally joins some itinerant company, which, like a theatrical or circus troop, stars it over the country, going from place to place to pander to the national tastes. The chief is the matador, armed with a finely-edged sword, who puts the finishing stroke to the unfortunate animal after it has been baited for some time in the ring. The matador rises or falls in public estimation according to the skill with which he dispatches his victim. He is an important personage in the social life of Spain; and El Tato, the matador of those days, was supposed to be in high favour with the Spanish Queen. The chulillos, or cloakmen, are armed with large silk cloaks of various colours, with which to distract the attention of the bull. Their skill lies in so placing the cloaks that the bull rushes past them leaving them unharmed, and in this operation they have to be very nimble. The banderillos are men armed with barb-pointed sticks, decked with ribbons and coloured tissue-paper, to worry the bull. The picadors are the horsemen, and they are veritable caricatures of their

calling. They are usually mounted on the sorriest nags it is possible to find, horses that have been saved from the knackers, so that expense in the destruction of horse-flesh may not interfere with the pastime, for a fairish number of horses have to be sacrificed to make the day's sport meet the satisfaction of the audience, and rank with any degree of merit. The men, for their protection, are cased in lead, leather, or heavy woollen clothing, and are an unwieldy, helpless looking lot. They are each armed with a long lance, with a three cornered point to it, which keeps the bull at a respectful distance. Woe betide the unfortunate picador who happens to touch the bull with his lance behind the shoulder, for the wrath of the audience then falls upon his head.

The bulls are bred for the purpose, and are magnificent looking animals, with fine heads and long symmetrical horns. The bull ring is a large enclosure, surrounded by a wall sufficiently high to prevent the bull jumping in among the audience. Ranged round this enclosure are the spectators, on seats capable of holding from five to ten thousand people. There are no reserved seats or dress circle; but there are privileged positions, priced according to the degree of shade that the spectator is able to pay for, to avoid sitting for several hours in the sweltering sun of a tropical climate. The spectacle is presided over by the highest

official in the district, and may be graced by the presence of the Queen. The beginning of the fight is announced by a flourish of trumpets, from trumpeters seated near by the government box, and then the company of bull-fighters march in, headed by the matador, chulillos, picadors, etc., in their picturesque costumes. They form up in front of the presiding officer, when a little speechifying is done, after which they all march past him, the picadors presenting their lances to have their sharp points measured, which are not allowed to be of greater length than three-quarters of an inch. They then take up their stations in the ring to await the fray. A small door alongside the entrance by which they come into the ring is suddenly opened, and a magnificent bull, which is generally goaded a little before entering, to work him up to fighting pitch, rushes into the presence of the enthusiastic spectators. Struck with astonishment at the unusual surroundings, the bull, however, quickly collects himself, and spying a chulillo makes a dash for him, which he nimbly eludes by placing his cloak on one side to attract the charge. The bull then rushes on, spies an unfortunate horse, and with his whole force charges down. The picador wards off the charge by his lance, when the now infuriated animal turns and probably this time succeeds in charging another horse, ripping him up with both horns, and overthrowing the picador. The cloakmen now gather round, and attract the bull away with their

cloaks so as to save the prostrate, unwieldy man, who, if his horse is able to stand, is replaced on it, and the excitement is kept up for some time further, until probably two or three horses have been killed.

Many hairbreadth escapes occur in the melée, and the nimbleness of the bull-fighters, running all over the ring, drawing the bull here and there in its fury, amuse and astonish the spectators. The bull is now beginning to weary and flag, so barbed sticks, covered with variegated tissue-paper, are brought in, and a banderillo, taking one of these, has to face the bull and stick it in the animal's shoulder. This is repeated two or three times, until the bull rushes round with half-a-dozen of these sticks dangling about him, tearing his flesh and mangling him. Finally a couple of barbed sticks are used, with fire-crackers attached, and these are driven in and lit, covering him with smoke and fire. The bull is then supposed to be ready for the matador to dispatch. This personage now comes in, with a small square flag and his sword, and, awaiting his opportunity, at the moment when he can get the bull to lower his head to charge, he pierces him in the shoulder-joint with his long blade through the heart, the point of the sword coming out underneath the body. This thrust requires the greatest skill on the part of the matador, so as to plunge his weapon in the vulnerable spot. Any failure to do this brings down the wrath and excitement of

the thronged multitude. The whole scene is one of intense excitement, as perilous situations are dexterously avoided by the skilful and active men. Often horses fall under the maddening charges of the bull, the people the while applauding and shouting, showing their signs of approval or disapproval according to the varying circumstances. When the noble animal lies stretched in the ring, the trumpets sound, and four gaily caparisoned mules gallop in and are fastened to his horns, then gallop out again with their mangled burden. Thus ends the first scene. For two pesatas, one has the satisfaction of seeing eight bulls killed in like manner, with about ten to fifteen horses, not to mention two or three accidents to the men, which sometimes prove fatal. It is a brutal sport for a nation to retain in these boasted days of a high civilization.

In the autumn of 1863 we received marching orders for Malta, having spent four pleasant years on the Rock. Several of the regiments with us during this time accompanied us in the change of quarters; the 7th Fusiliers and the 25th King's Own Borderers were of the number.

Malta is distinguished for its ancient aristocracy, though it is sadly degenerated since the days of the Knights of St. John. Altogether, garrison life passed pleasantly there. Our stay was saddened by the loss of many men through an outbreak of cholera. From Malta the regiment was ordered to Montreal, returning to

Canada after eight years abroad, and just after the Fenian excitement of 1866.

Canada at this time was strongly garrisoned by British troops, having been sent there in 1861, on the occasion of what is known as the "Trent Affair." The American people approved of the bold conduct of Captain Wilkes in that affair, and the British public resented it as an insult. For a while there were strained relations between the two peoples, but the good sense of the governing powers at Washington, in giving up the prisoners, avoided what might have been a very serious difficulty. The Emperor Napoleon was anxious to recognize the Southern Confederacy as a belligerent power, but England declined, and the American people were left to deal with their great civil war and to re-establish their government. We expected every moment to be under orders about this time. *The Queen*, one of H. M. line-of-battle ships, had hammock hooks fastened up for us all ready, but the order never came for embarkation. Canada, however, having been taken advantage of by the Southerners, as a place of refuge where they might concoct schemes on the northern frontier of the United States, to assist their friends on the Southern frontier, was not held blameless by the Federal Government; and the Fenians took advantage of this feeling to commit a series of invasions of Canada, to stir up their Irish compatriots, and to maintain their organization for

the personal ends of their leaders. In 1866 a number of the Fenians who had made a descent upon Fort Erie, were captured, tried, sentenced, and imprisoned in the Kingston penitentiary, but through the clemency of the Canadian Government were ultimately released. This was the last serious attempt at Fenian invasion, though the organization is still maintained in the United States.

The 100th Regiment, after arriving in Montreal, was divided into two detachments. The right wing remained in Montreal under the command of Major Cook, while the left wing was sent to Ottawa, to be stationed there, under the command of Colonel Campbell.

Upon the completion of ten years' service, in 1868, many officers left, and a great many men preferred to remain in Canada to re-enlisting. The regiment returned to England in 1869 to put in a term of home service, and was thence ordered to India, where it still remains, finishing the usual period of Indian service.

For a short time after the regiment was raised, the Home Government kept up a recruiting depot in Canada, under Captain John Clarke; but the expense of transporting troops to England did not justify the maintenance of this recruiting depot. For many reasons this was unfortunate, as there is a true military spirit in Canada, which would have been a decided advantage for the Imperial Government to foster. A considerable

portion of the population of Canada sprang from the United Empire Loyalists, who, after the Declaration of Independence of the United States, in 1776, preferred to resign their homes, their lands and their property, in order to remain under British rule. They came to Canada and laid the foundation of prosperous settlements on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and round Lakes Ontario and Erie, where they hewed homes for themselves out of the dense forests that lined the shores of these lakes.

The discharged soldiers of the 100th Regiment went to their respective homes in various parts of the country, and to-day many of them occupy positions of honour and trust, in virtue of their military experience and discipline. Not a few of them joined the militia regiments that were raised in 1870, to accompany Colonel, Sir Garnet Wolseley's expedition to the North-West Territory, for the suppression of the first Riel Rebellion. Colonel Casault, of Quebec, a former officer of the 100th, was appointed commander of one of these militia battalions; and many other officers and men were appointed to military and civil positions and to the police force of the country, whose experience was found of great advantage. Among others, I might mention Colonel Duchesnay, Deputy Adjutant-General of Quebec; Colonel Fletcher, Colonel De Bellefeuille, Colonel Van Straubenzie, who joined the regiment in England, now Deputy Adjutant-General, at Kingston; Colonel Grasett,

who commanded the Royal Grenadiers in the late campaign; Captain Hudson, of London; Sergeant-Major Burn, who put in his full twenty-one years in the Hundredth and now enjoys his pension, and who acted as Sergeant-Major of the 7th Fusiliers of London during the last campaign; Lieut. Carriere, manager of a leading bank in Ottawa; Lieut. Brown Wallis, now in the Department of the Interior, Ottawa; Sergeant-Major Rance, now in the Post Office Department, Ottawa; Quarter-Master Grant, in the Militia Department, now superannuated; Carrol Ryan, who was the regimental poet, now a leading journalist in Ottawa; E. A. Bailey, a prominent member of the Farmers' Union, of Manitoba, who is also a journalist; Lieut. William Palmer Clark, for some time an Indian agent in the North-West; Lieut. J. G. Ridout, of Toronto; Colonel Lake, of Broadview, N. W. T., and many others who took part in the past campaign under General Middleton, all qualified by discipline in the regiment. Colonel Davidson, a cousin of Colonel Grasett's, remained in the service, and now commands the 19th Regiment.

The raising of the 100th Regiment in Canada, in 1858, has been of no unimportant service in fostering the military spirit of the country, and in maintaining loyalty to the British Crown; for the twelve hundred men of this regiment were taken from the homes of Canadian settlers, who keenly followed the fortunes of their friends through

the vicissitudes of British military service. It would not be unwise on the part of England to revive the recruiting depot in Canada, that was withdrawn in 1861, as many good men could be enlisted who would prove a valuable connecting link between the Crown and the Colonies. No more serviceable material for the army could be found anywhere than is to be found in all parts of Canada—men of good physique, inured to hardships, accustomed to the use of weapons, and full of experience and resource. England now draws annually a number of capable officers from our Military Colleges; and I venture to think that she would profit greatly by recruiting the rank and file of her army from the brawn and muscle of Canadian yeomanry.

In thus calling to mind the raising, now nearly thirty years ago, of this Canadian Regiment for British service abroad, the advantages to Canada as well as to England cannot be overlooked.

I append a list of officers of the 100th in 1858, which will doubtless be interesting to those who had relatives or friends in the regiment:—

COLONEL:—Lord Melville, K.C.B.

*LIEUTENANT-COLONEL:—George de Rottenburg, C.B.

MAJOR:—James Henry Craig Robertson.

*V. C:—Alexander Roberts Dunn.

CAPTAINS:—Thomas Matthew Luz Weguelin, Robert Bethune Ingram, Percy G. Batfield Lake, Henry Cooke,

James Clery, Henry George Browne, *John Clarke, *Terrence Waverly Smythe, *George Macartney, *Charles John Clark, *Richard Charles Price, George Pilkington Blake.

LIEUTENANTS:—George Bell Coulson, John Lee, Adjt.; James Lamb, Fred. Wm. Benwell, Henry Lionel Nicholles, Joseph Dooley, Richard Lane Bailiff, *John Fletcher, *Louis Adolphe Casault, *L. C. A. L. De Bellefeuille, *Phillip Derbishire, *Alfred Edwin Rykert, *Charles Henry Carriere, *Henry Theodore Duchesnay, *Brown Wallis.

ENSIGNS:—Constantine McD. Moorsom, Frederick Morris, *John Gibbs Ridout, *Henry Edward Davidson, *Charles Arkall Boulton, *Thomas Henry Baldwin, *William Palmer Clarke. In 1867 Colonel Grasett was appointed Ensign.

PAYMASTER:—Joseph Hutchison.

ADJUTANT:—Lieut. John Lee.

INSTRUCTOR OF MUSKETRY:—Ensign F. Morris.

QUARTER-MASTER:—George Grant.

SURGEON:—William Barrett, M.D.

ASSISTANT-SURGEONS:—Thos. Liddard, Daniel Murray.

Those marked with an asterisk are the Canadian Officers.

CHAPTER II.

CANADA'S ACQUISITION OF THE NORTH-WEST.

THE last Parliament of old Canada, under the Act of 1841, which united the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, met in 1866. Prior to this date Canadian statesmen had conceived the idea of the consolidation of British power on this continent, and the scheme met with the approval and assent of the Imperial authorities. Having discussed preliminaries, a council of the leading members of the Governments of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario and Quebec then met for the purpose of agreeing upon the terms of the confederation of these Provinces, and providing at the same time for the entrance of Newfoundland, Prince Edward's Island, and British Columbia, then separate Crown Colonies. The conference also contemplated the inclusion of that large tract of country known as the North-West Territory, lying between Ontario on the east and British Columbia on the west, then under the government of the Hudson's Bay Trading Company. On the first day of July, 1867, was issued the proclamation, by the Imperial Parliament, whereby the first four named Provinces were united in one grand confederacy,

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known as the Dominion of Canada. This was the natal day of what in the future will no doubt prove to be a great nation.

One of the first acts of the new Parliament was to provide for the transfer of the North-West Territory to the Dominion of Canada. Negotiations, however, had first to be opened up with the Hudson's Bay Company, which for many years had enjoyed a charter giving them exclusive trading privileges in furs. Their charter was granted them as early as the reign of Charles the Second. The Company's means of access to England was chiefly by the shores of Hudson's Bay, the communication being maintained by an annual ship which brought out the season's outfit and carried back the furs. Thus isolated from Canada, little was known to the Canadian people of the vast resources of the Hudson's Bay region. But the value of the fur trade had early attracted the enterprise of the inhabitants of the shores of the St. Lawrence, and under the title of the "North-West Company" an association of traders, penetrated the confines of the vast territory. It is thus due to Canadian enterprise that this fertile belt is now under the Government of the Dominion of Canada.

The North-West is a country of "magnificent distances." Commencing at the head of Lake Superior, the traveller visiting the region will pass for over four hundred miles through a rough country of rock

and small timber, supposed to contain a good deal of mineral wealth. About twenty miles east of Winnipeg he will then come to open prairie, which extends in one vast plain for a distance of eight hundred miles, gradually rising in steppes to the foot of the Rocky Mountains The forty-ninth parallel of latitude separates it on the south from the United States territory. This boundary line was marked out a few years ago by a joint commission, consisting of a company of Royal Engineers, under Major Cameron, and a company of American Engineers—Colonel Forrest representing the Canadian contingent. The prairie region is drained by numerous rivers, the greater number of which take their rise in the Rocky Mountains, some finding their outlet in the Arctic Ocean by the noble Mackenzie River, others in the Hudson's Bay through the two main outlets, the Churchill and the Nelson. These interior rivers have cut for themselves deep channels through the prairie, the bed of the streams being from two to three hundred feet below the prairie level. As a consequence, the smaller rivers and streams have worn for themselves deep gullies to reach the level of the main rivers, so that in travelling through the country these deep and precipitous gullies have frequently to be crossed, their natural scenery, which is bold and striking, relieving the great monotony of the prairie. The vegetation of the country is luxuriant and diversified; so much so that it is never customary, in travelling

with native ponies, to carry oats for fodder. Numerous ponds and lakes everywhere abound, some of which are salt; the fresh water lakes being also more or less impregnated with alkali. The prairies and streams are the homes of a great variety of fur-bearing animals, which are trapped by the Indians and half-breeds, and are brought to the Hudson's Bay Company's posts for trade. The standard of trade before the introduction of currency was one skin. A pound of tea, instead of being six shillings, represented so much value in skins; the trade mark being designated in the motto of the Hudson's Bay Company, *Pro pelle cutem.* The rule of the Hudson's Bay Company was purely paternal in its character. Its officers dealt honourably with the Indians, and so obtained their confidence. If an Indian proved a defaulter, his name was put upon the books of the Company at every post where he was likely to visit, and he was not allowed to obtain any supplies. This made dealings on the part of the Indians also honourable, greatly to the protection of the Company. The private trader who made advances to the trapper had no surety that furs would be brought in to repay him; but it was not so with the Hudson's Bay Company, whose equitable management amply protected them. When any difficulty did occur it was generally smoothed over by the tact of the Company's officers. Thus this vast region with its hand-

ful of a nomadic population was peacefully and well governed up to the time of the transfer to Canada.

Although the country was hidden from the eyes of the world, being separated from civilization on all sides by hundreds of miles of dense forests or trackless prairies, it has an intensely interesting history. This history covers a period of over two hundred years, and is replete with incidents which reflect credit on the adventurous spirits who in those early days sought to extend the commerce of the world, going hand in hand with the other agencies which promote Christianity and civilization. As an example of the complete isolation of this vast region, a pleasing fact may be recited, the truth of which is vouched for by the employés of the Hudson's Bay Company. One of the officers of the Company, not wishing to give up his old-fashioned liking for the morning paper, was in the habit of having sent to him, by the one annual sailing vessel which kept up communication with the territory and conveyed the supplies to and from England, a complete file of the *Times* of the previous year. Every morning this conservative old gentleman would digest his paper while digesting his breakfast, the journal losing nothing in interest by being a year old, while his faithful old servant had the corresponding pleasure of saying "Your morning paper, sir." These old officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, who led an isolated life in the loneliness of the great North-West, have left behind them

a memory that will long beneficially influence the country; and after leaving the service many of them settled down in comfort in Canada, whither their good record followed them.

The history of the Hudson's Bay Company is one of great interest. It tells of stirring times when the great trading company of England had to hold its own at the point of the pen or the bayonet. The Company had one principle, which all the officers rigidly acted upon, namely, to hide from the world any knowledge of the extensive and valuable resources over which they held sway, dreading the influx of an enterprising population, which might wrest from them their valuable fur trade and demoralize the hunting qualities of the Indian.

The value of the resources of the region was first discovered by the French, who then occupied Old Canada, called New France, after the Gallic motherland, and in contradistinction to the colonies to the south, called New England. The Jesuit fathers, who seem to have been ever among the most adventurous in disseminating Christianity among the aborigines, first brought to light the magnificent inland sea, called Lake Superior. Their report of the country brought from Quebec, in the year 1666, the adventurous spirits De Grosselier and Raddison, who sought to extend exploration. These travellers entered the Kaministiquia River, at the head of Lake Superior, and found their way by the

chain of lakes and rivers westward into Lake Winnipeg, and from there, under the guidance of the Assiniboines, travelled northward to the shores of Hudson's Bay. In the following year they returned; and it was through the information they were able to give of the valuable resources of the interior of the country, and of the easy mode of communication by way of Hudson's Bay and Straits, that led to the celebrated charter being sought for and obtained by Prince Rupert and "his honourable company of gentlemen adventurers," trading to Hudson's Bay.

The history of the country for many years afterwards was one of enterprise and adventure, the competition for the possession of Hudson's Bay being very frequently and hotly contested by the French from Canada and the Hudson's Bay Company from England, assisted occasionally by the New England colonists from Boston. The Canadians, having known for many years the great value of the fur trade of the interior, extended their operations by means of the North-West Company, their channel of communication being by way of the head of Lake Superior and the chain of lakes and rivers running into Lake Winnipeg. The Hudson's Bay Company competed for this trade on the same ground, entering the country by way of Hudson's Bay. For some years the rivalry between the two companies was of a friendly character, but gradually the Hudson's Bay Company, becoming

jealous of the success of their rivals, sought to expel them, and claimed exclusive possession of the country, under their charter from King Charles.

The Earl of Selkirk, a philanthropic and adventurous nobleman, who selected this region for his enterprise, was for some years a leading spirit in the country. He had acquired influence over the Hudson's Bay Company by large purchases of their stock, and in 1812 conceived the idea of placing a settlement in the interior, partly to place labour on the soil, useful to the Company, and partly to assist himself in withstanding the encroachments of his rivals, the North-West Company. These settlers were brought from Scotland by way of Hudson's Bay. Their early history is one of difficulty, danger and disaster, which many a time threatened extermination; but their natural hardihood overcame all obstacles, and the descendants of these enterprising settlers, in time, made comfortable homes for themselves. They formed a considerable portion of the population at the time of the transfer of the country to Canada, and to-day reap the benefit of the enterprise of their ancestors.

Another element of the population, and forming about half of it, is that composed of the descendants of the employés and *voyageurs* of the North-West Company; nearly all of whom are of French origin. The French section settled on the banks of the Red River, to the south of the Assiniboine, while the English occupied the north.

The Earl of Selkirk, to carry out his plan of settlement, obtained a grant from the Hudson's Bay Company of a tract of land, consisting of a narrow strip on the banks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. His title to this tract was completed, but it aroused hostility on the part of some of the shareholders of the Company at the time it was made, and in 1835 was repurchased from his heirs for £35,000. The noble earl, however, as chief of the Company, so pressed forward his plans and operations that the country was continually embroiled in conflict, greatly to the injury of trade. The North-West Company held their own, and an amicable solution of difficulties was finally arrived at by the amalgamation in 1821 of all interests. Since that period the Hudson's Bay Company has peacefully and successfully carried on the joint trade. The country, however, was not altogether without an occasional excitement, in the fights that took place between hostile tribes of Indians.

At that early time the prairie was covered with countless herds of buffalo, producing the staple article of food for the Indians of the plains. The buffalo were valuable for their hides and meat. As the settlers and employés of the Company increased and intermarried with the Indians, they began to take part in the chase, and large camps were organized by the half-breeds who went hundreds of miles into the interior to take part in the sport and participate in the valuable trade. The Indians, often resenting

their interference, had many a feud with the half-breeds, who, however, always held their own. These fights gave as much pleasure and excitement to the contending parties as the chase itself. Thus was the population of the country reared, amidst adventure and sometimes angry contest, which was much to their liking and more congenial to their habits than the humdrum life of a farmer.

The population of the country, in 1869, was made up of about five thousand French, five thousand English and Scotch half-breeds, and a small number of Europeans and Americans, with whom were a handful of Canadians. The leading spirit among the latter was Dr. Schultz, who came into the country when a young man, and took a stand antagonistic to what he deemed the despotic rule of the Hudson's Bay Company. There can be no doubt that the difficulties created by him brought to the notice of those interested the advantages of opening up the magnificent country and of placing its resources at the enterprise of a future population. Dr. Schultz's name is historically connected with the new order of things; and he proved as difficult a problem for the Company to solve, in connection with their trade monopoly, as they had had for some time; and without knowing who was right or who was wrong, his share in the troubles occasioned many disputes in old Canada. There is no doubt either that the difficulties he got into with the Company brought forcibly before the Imperial and Canadian Governments

the necessity for a change of administration. Dr. Schultz played no unimportant part in the troubles that followed the transfer of the country to Canada, and to indicate the feeling that existed prior to the transfer, an attempt was made by Mr. Thomas Spence to form an independent government at Portage la Prairie, supposed to be outside the limits of the Company's rule. Of course such an act was illegal, and when discovered to be so, proceedings towards independence went no further. But this was the commencement of an effort on the part of the people to obtain a greater voice in the conduct of affairs involving their interests.

Before negotiating with the Imperial Government for the transfer of the country, it was necessary to purchase the claims and vested interests of the Hudson's Bay Company in the region. These interests were exclusive trading rights, granted them by their charter; and as they claimed a vested interest in the soil, they valued the privilege which they held very highly. The Canadian Government sent the late Sir George Cartier and the Honourable William Macdougall to England to negotiate with the directors of the Company, whose headquarters were in London. The Company were inclined to drive a hard bargain, and it was difficult for the commissioners to negotiate on terms acceptable to Canada. But as a failure to negotiate would interfere with the settled Imperial policy in regard to Canada, the Duke of Buckingham and

Chandos, then Colonial Secretary, intervened and brought about a satisfactory agreement between the Hudson's Bay Company and the commissioners. The terms of this agreement were a money payment of three hundred thousand pounds, and one-twentieth of the lands as they were surveyed, to be selected by the Company within fifty years, also a reservation around each of their principal posts throughout the country. Having concluded the bargain, the Canadian Parliament passed an Act confirming it, and empowering the Government to pay over the purchase money. The Government now gave to the North-West Territory a Constitution, under which it was in future to be governed; and Canada at once became possessed of a vast colony of her own, and in good faith accepted the trust reposed in her to govern the immense region. Being anxious to carry out this trust, she lost no time in providing the machinery for its development and government.

In the formation of the Hudson's Bay Company two diverse elements existed; one, the shareholders, whose interests sought large financial returns for their investment, the other, the Company's officers, who, besides their pay, in time obtained an addition to their income, in a percentage of the annual profits, as a reward for long service.

It is important to note that the negotiations thus concluded were made solely with the shareholders in London,

and without reference to their large army of employés scattered throughout the Territory. Neither was regard paid to the local population in the neighbourhood of Fort Garry, which had now increased to about twelve thousand souls, and which had very scant information about the great political change about to come over them. It was felt by leading men in the settlement that to bring about such a political change without danger to the country, a few troops were necessary; but the Imperial Government either did not wish to interfere in the mode of transfer or felt that it was the duty of Canada and the Hudson's Bay Company to arrange the transfer on their own responsibility. No steps, however, were taken to place a small protective force in the country.

In their eagerness to open up communication with and take possession of the country, the Canadian Government, in advance of the Imperial proclamation transferring the country to Canada, in the early part of 1869 sent a surveying party to locate and construct a highway between Winnipeg and the Lake of the Woods, giving communication by aid of the water-stretches from there to Lake Superior. This was followed by a surveying party, under Colonel Dennis, to run the meridian lines and lay the foundation of the future surveys of the territory, upon the American principle, of square blocks containing six hundred and forty acres each, with a road allowance around the four sides. This proceeding created

a feeling of hostility among the population, which had not been consulted, and were not cognizant of any policy propounded, or that might be pursued towards them, in regard to their holdings. The region had been surveyed by the Hudson's Bay Company with the view of giving river frontage to the settlers, and the farms of the people were laid out in narrow strips of land, two miles deep by a few chains wide, fronting on the Red and Assiniboine rivers. In addition to this the settlers possessed what was termed "a hay privilege," or a similar strip of land running two miles into the prairie. The churches also had grants of land for educational and religious purposes. The titles of these lands were not held in fee simple, but as leasehold from the Hudson's Bay Company. The Canadian Government, therefore, who had become possessed of the sovereignty of the soil, had they so willed, might possibly have set aside this mode of survey and ignored the settlers. This was the feeling among many of the half-breeds; and there were not a few who fostered the idea that the Canadian Government would not deal justly in the matter. There were others of the population who, though bound by ties to England, owed no allegiance to Canada, and did not feel disposed to assist in bringing about a change the effect of which might possibly imperil their interests. A few Canadians, chief among whom was Dr. Schultz, had travelled extensively over the territory, and had mainly been the means

of disseminating the information in Canada as to the value of and resources of the country. These Canadians were eagerly looking forward to the consummation of the transfer, and were not in sympathy with the governing power of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose policy had naturally been one of isolation in the interests of their trade. Such was the state of feeling in 1869, when the surveying parties alluded to arrived on the scene.

CHAPTER III.

RIEL BLOCKS THE WAY.

I ACCOMPANIED Colonel Dennis's party, and arrived in the territory in July, 1869. We journeyed through the United States by rail to St. Paul, then a small American frontier town on the Mississippi. The place has since grown to a large city of 120,000 inhabitants, and has a rival near by, in Minneapolis, with a population almost equal to that of St Paul. At St. Cloud we purchased horses and waggons to convey us across the prairie, four hundred and fifty miles north to Winnipeg. This route by trail had now become the chief highway from the railway terminus on the Mississippi to the Hudson's Bay Territory, and at St. Paul hundreds of Red River carts were assembled to convey stores and supplies into the interior. These carts were of native manufacture, constructed entirely without iron, the transport of such heavy material being too costly for so long an inland carriage to admit of its use. The harness consisted of what is called "shagannappi," being the raw hide of the buffalo dressed for the purpose. The term "shagannappi" came to be applied by the new settlers to everything in

connection with a Red River outfit. The journey was a long monotonous one, over a level, treeless prairie, with no habitations, until we reached the small frontier village of Pembina, at the boundary between the two countries. After crossing the boundary line we came to the Hudson's Bay post of Pembina, and a few miles further we reached what appeared to be an old settled country. The changed aspect of things was very marked, and one could not help being impressed by it, in coming upon a comparatively well-cultivated settlement in the heart of an immense region which for two centuries had so little communication with the outer world.

The principal fort, or depot, of the Hudson's Bay Company was Fort Garry, now the site of the flourishing city of Winnipeg. It was situated at the junction of the Assiniboine and Red Rivers. The Red River, which is navigable for about 400 miles, takes its rise in American territory, and flows northward, through Lake Winnipeg, to Hudson's Bay. The Assiniboine, also navigable, empties into the Red River, about thirty miles from Lake Winnipeg, rising in the west in Canadian territory. For a time the English Government maintained troops at Fort Garry, and some of the rifles, ammunition and stores were retained when the last detachment left. Another principal station of the Hudson's Bay Company is York Factory, on the Hudson's Bay, the port through which all the supplies were conveyed to the interior and

from which furs were exported to England. The fur that was trapped and purchased in the interior generally took two, and sometimes three, years before it found its way to a market in Europe, the extensive inland carriage being tedious and uncertain. There are many other posts of the Hudson's Bay Company which are still much isolated, such as the posts on the Mackenzie and Yucon rivers, and other points close to the shores of the Arctic Ocean, which are as remote from civilization as in times gone by.

The hardships the employés of the Company had to suffer may be imagined when we state that a year's rations for an officer was one bag of flour, while the men got none, and what is generally considered as necessaries of life they had to do without. Fish, cariboo and wild fowl are the chief articles of diet at these remote posts.

Sir George Simpson was a notable character in the history of the country, and for forty years subsequent to 1821 governed it for the Hudson's Bay Company with ability and discretion. The Hudson's Bay officer who occupied the position of the Governor of the Territory in 1869 was Mr. Wm. McTavish. He was unfortunately prostrated with illness at the time the difficulties arose over the transfer of the country, or he might have wielded a greater influence than he did.

When the surveying party arrived, the first thing done was to send the horses down to Point du Chene and

leave them with those of Mr. Snow, the overseer of the construction of the road before referred to. Some of the party were struck with the beauty of the country in that neighbourhood, and determined upon taking up land. Then and there they selected a tract and staked it out for future occupation. This gave rise to jealousy on the part of the half-breeds in the neighbourhood, who watched their proceedings; and Riel, as it turned out, followed us down to ascertain what our movements were likely to be. It was not difficult for him to persuade the half-breeds that this act was hostile to their interests, and they assembled to intercept us on our way. Riel, who came with the half-breeds as their spokesman, warned our party that they must not survey the land or take possession of any of it. The words of his argument I have forgotten, but the gist of it was to the effect that the country was theirs, and that we had no right to it and must not survey it. We informed him that we were only employés of the Canadian Government and had no control over our movements. There was no show of violence or hostility in this demonstration, and it did not strike us as being of importance at the time. It was, however, the first scene in the drama that was about to be enacted; and I have no doubt gave the idea to the half-breeds of acting in a similar manner, which resulted in what is known as the "stake claims." The party left their horses and returned to Winnipeg, where Colonel

Dennis organized a surveying party, with Red River carts and ponies as transport, then returned to Pembina and went west along the boundary line for about ten miles. Under the superintendence of Colonel Dennis, assisted by Milner Hart, now inspector of surveys for the North-West, we there commenced to run the principal meridian line straight north, upon which the future surveys were to be based.

We were now out upon the open prairie, far removed from any society, and had no opportunity of knowing what was going on in the settlements. We ran our meridian line north as far as Shoal Lake, on the east side of Lake Manitoba. Further proceedings were stopped by winter, which came upon us suddenly. We read in the papers, which occasionally came to hand, that the Hon. Mr. Macdougall had been appointed the first Governor of the North-West Territory, and was on his way up. We also learned that Major Webb, another surveyor, had been interfered with by Riel and some half-breeds in his surveys, and, awaiting orders, had abandoned them. Mr. Webb had apparently been infringing upon the outside two mile limit which was claimed as hay privilege, and he thought it prudent to desist.

Colonel Dennis, in charge of the surveying parties, felt annoyed at the interference with his work, but found that he was powerless in the matter. He applied to the authorities, the Council of Assiniboia, and asked them

to take action; but they expressed themselves as also powerless, and confined themselves to remonstrances. Unfortunately, Archbishop Tache, one of the most influential men in the country, especially with his own people, was absent. The Archbishop had gone to take part in the celebrated Œcumenical Council, at Rome, and on his way thither he called at Ottawa to ascertain from the Dominion Government what were their intentions on acquiring possession of the country. But the Government had already made provision by Act of Parliament for the government of the territory, and no fresh legislation could be obtained before the following session, so Archbishop Tache went on his way to Rome without effecting anything on behalf of his people.

The Honourable Mr. Macdougall, who had probably taken the most active interest in the acquisition of this territory by Canada, and had urged it upon Parliament by able speeches, and had also, in conjunction with Sir George Cartier, negotiated for the purchase of the Hudson's Bay Company's rights with the Imperial Government, had been appointed the first Governor of this new territory, no doubt as a reward for his services in connection therewith, and as the best fitted to launch the young colony on its new career.

The priest, Père Lestanc, who was left behind in Archbishop Tache's place, was a gentleman apparently

with more zeal than discretion in the midst of a difficulty such as the present. He came from France, and was not imbued with the Canadian instincts that most of his clergy possessed. His actions gave rise to the feeling that the Roman Catholic church was in sympathy with the extreme measures enforced by Riel. The attitude of the church seemed more clear, when O'Donohue, who at that time was being educated for the priesthood at Saint Boniface, and was a teacher there, saw fit to leave those duties to join Riel and to become his right hand man during the rebellion that immediately followed. With some honourable exceptions, the Americans, of whom there were a few, were hostile, and were fain to fan the flame of discontent, that advantage might possibly accrue to them or their country. The Canadians, who were not numerous, were enthusiastic over the transfer of the territory to the Dominion. Dr. Schultz, at the time, undoubtedly represented this feeling, and was most popular among the Canadians. Colonel Dennis advised the Hon. Mr. Macdougall, the Governor, who had just arrived at the boundary line, of the state of affairs that existed at Fort Garry. The Governor unfortunately over-estimated his own power and under-estimated that of the rebels. He had heard rumours on his way from St. Paul of the probability of resistance; and on his arrival at Pembina, on the 21st of October, 1869, he

was handed a letter warning him not to enter the country.*

Disregarding this letter, the Governor pushed on to the Hudson's Bay Company's post, about two miles north of the boundary, accompanied by the Honourable Albert Richards as his Attorney-General, Mr. Provencher, Dr. Jakes, and some of his own family. Mr. Macdougall deserved the greatest sympathy for the unfortunate position he now found himself placed in. He had travelled by land conveyance four hundred miles from St Paul in the month of October, and was now advised by Mr. McTavish to remain at Pembina and await developments, rather than attempt to enter the country. To attempt a return journey at the commencement of a north-west winter seemed to the Governor out of the question. He therefore determined to await the drift of events, trusting that something would turn up to relieve him from the awkwardness of his position. Pembina was a small frontier village where the accommodation was scant and of a very inferior description. It gave great satisfaction to his opponents, of whom there were a number at Pembina, to have at their threshold a

* À Monsieur W. Macdougall.

Monsieur,—Le comité national des Metis de la Riviére Rouge intime à Monsieur W. Macdougall l'ordre de ne pas entrer sur le territoire du nord ouest, sans une permission speciale de ce comité.

Par l'ordre du President, JOHN BRUCE.

LOUIS RIEL, *Secretary*.

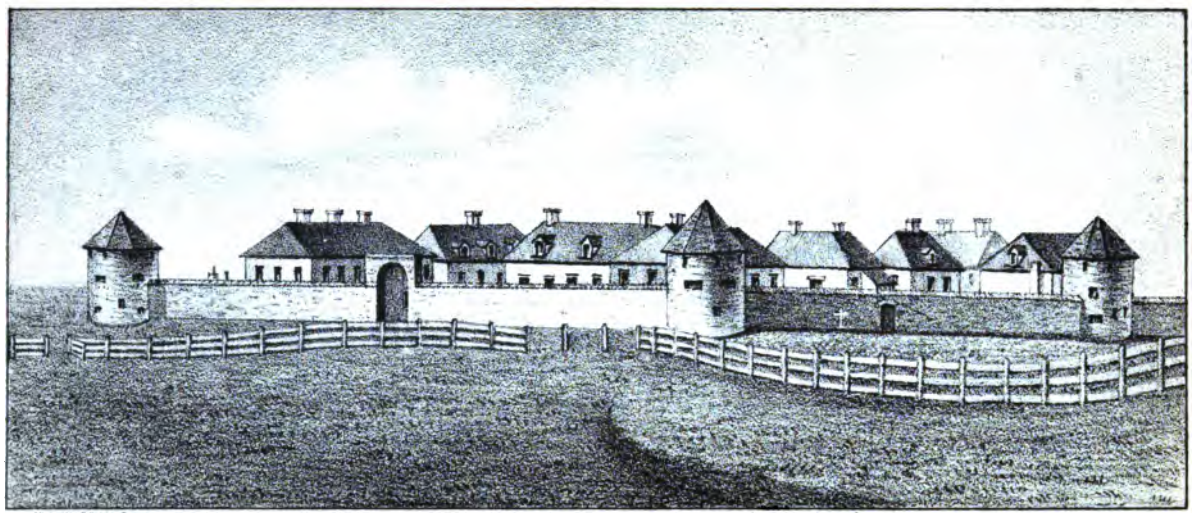
Daté à St. Norbert, Riviére Rouge,
ce 21e jour d'Octobre, 1869.

Governor who could not further approach his territory; and Mr. Macdougall had to suffer many petty indignities, added to the anxiety that he felt over the state of affairs in the country.

Reil began by protests and warnings, but soon he assumed more active measures. By the time the Governor arrived in Pembina he had a small force under his command, at River Sale, where he erected a barricade to guard the entrance into the country. His force at first did not exceed seven men; but being unopposed his followers soon increased. The French half-breeds, from their experience of past excitements, were nothing loth to go in for a little fighting. Riel, finding that the Governor had ignored his warning, forwarded by messenger to Pembina, sent a party to drive him across the line by force, if necessary. Situated as he was, isolated from every friend and support, the Governor could offer no resistance; so he retired across the line, and took up his quarters in Pembina. Probably, had he not dreaded the effects of the winter's journey, back across the plains of Minnesota, he would have returned at once to confer with his colleagues at Ottawa. Being encouraged by the offers of loyal assistance in the country, he determined, however, to remain; and, as it turned out, it was unfortunate he was so advised, as his presence acted as a red rag to the opposition; though it was supposed that the country, in a month's time, would

be part and parcel of the Dominion. Mr. Provencher and Major Cameron thought that they would try and get in to confer with the legal authorities in the country, in the hope of bringing about a reconciliation of interests. Riel, however, was too cunning to allow anything to interrupt the current of events, which he felt would bring him into importance and satisfy his ambition and vanity. From my knowledge of Riel, at this time, I venture to affirm that his motives were more those of personal ambition and aggrandizement than consideration for the good of his people, and his subsequent action confirms this opinion. He was clever enough to make tools of every one who came in his way, not even excepting the clergy, some of whom were his admiring supporters.

Having succeeded in stopping the surveys, in banishing the new government, and in turning back the Governor's emissaries, Major Cameron, a British officer, and Mr. Provencher, one of the Governor's council, Riel now felt that he could make a bolder and more determined move. He conceived the idea of taking possession of Fort Garry, seeing, by this time, that the sinews of war were necessary for his complete success. Fort Garry was the central depot of the Hudson's Bay Company, where enormous stores were maintained for the trade of the interior, and where large quantities of furs were made ready for shipment. Riel shrewdly saw that the Fort



Alexander & Cable, Toronto.

† Spot where Scott was shot.

FORT GARRY IN 1869,
from a photograph by Armstrong, Beere & Hime.

would prove a rich prize to enable him to carry on his operations, conceived in no illiberal spirit. The settlement was astounded one day by the news that Riel had occupied Fort Garry, although the move had been anticipated by Mulligan, chief of the Company's police, and by Hyman and others. The excuse he offered to the Governor for this act was that he heard an attempt was about to be made to seize the Fort by some other party in the country. Without any warning, Riel marched up about a hundred men from River Sale, entered the Fort, and informed Mr. McTavish, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, that he had come to protect it. Riel, at first, seemed to realize the effect of so bold a move, and for a day or two he permitted no other act. Gradually, however, he became emboldened and he seized the property of the Hudson's Bay Company for his own purposes. He now occupied a very strong position, being protected by the Fort, and surrounded by his own men. The Fort contained the arms and ammunition of the troops which used to be stationed there, together with several cannon and ample ammunition. It also contained everything necessary for the support and pay of a considerable force, with the comfortable quarters of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, which Riel was not long in occupying for his own luxury and comfort. Mr. Macdougall, the new Governor, had taken advantage of the season to have

his furniture brought down by the Red River boats, and this Riel also seized and appropriated for his own use. At first he did not attempt to interfere with the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, but after a little he required the clerks in the store to honour his orders and requisitions. He then regularly employed his men as soldiers at the rate of fifteen to twenty dollars a month, paying them by orders on the store. Most of his people Riel found would not act as willing soldiers in the cause he had taken up, and he had resort to threats and all manner of deception to keep his recruits up to the proper number and to exact due subordination.

There was method in all Riel's plans. He formed a council, putting forward a man named Bruce, a French half-breed, as figurehead. This was previous to the erection of the barricade at River Sale. There did not seem to be any disposition on his part, or that of his people, to oppose the cession of the country to Canada; but the opposition he offered seemed to be confined to the entrance of the Governor or the establishment of the authority of Canada until certain rights, which he and his supporter claimed to be their privilege and to have been granted them as inhabitants of the country, had been conceded. As his successes filled him with vanity and ambition his designs changed, and there is no doubt he conceived the idea of forming an independent government and handing it over to the United States

for a good round sum. On Archbishop Tache's return he put him off this conceit and brought him to his senses.

Correspondence was meanwhile passing between the Hon. Mr. Macdougall and Governor McTavish. The former pressed on Mr. McTavish the necessity of exerting his authority to put down the resistance offered to his entry; but Governor McTavish confined his efforts to remonstrances with Riel. He has been blamed for apathy; but, on his behalf, it is fair to say that the negotiations for the transfer of the country seemed there to have been carried on in a loose way, so far as the population existing in the territory at the time was concerned.

Mr. Macdougall came up to the country as its future Governor ahead of his authority. The news of his arrival and his progress was heralded in advance by the press, and Mr. McTavish was called upon to deal with an insurrection brought about by circumstances which he could not well control, and in an affair over which he had little or no jurisdiction. The responsibility he might incur in dealing with so delicate a matter was greater than he no doubt felt himself able or willing to shoulder. In the light of subsequent events, it is clear that had he attempted to bring in Mr. Macdougall by force, he would have assumed a grave responsibility. He even declined the offers of assistance that were made to protect Fort Garry before Riel occupied it, to avoid raising a hostile element in the country. In all of this he must now be

judged as having acted wisely; although it was so far fortunate for Canada that this rising occurred before the transfer took place, else she would have had to establish her authority single-handed.

To throw some light upon the deliberations that led to this inaction, I insert an extract from the minutes of a meeting of the Council of Assiniboia, held on the 25th of October, 1869. This Council was the governing body of the territory. There were present on this occasion Judge Black, who, in consequence of the illness of Mr. McTavish, presided; the Right Reverend, the Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land, Dr. Cowan, Dr. Bird, Messrs. Dease, Sutherland, McBeath, Frazer, and Bannatyne. Riel and Bruce, a French half-breed, who were known to be the leaders of the insurrectionary movement, had been invited to attend this council meeting and were remonstrated with for taking up arms and the criminalty of the proceedings was pointed out them. The minutes go on to say: "That Mr. Riel refused to adopt the views of the Council, and persisted in expressing his determination to oppose Mr. Macdougall's entrance into the settlement, declining even to press the reasoning and advice of this Council upon his party, although he reluctantly promised to repeat to them what he had just heard, and inform Governor McTavish of the result by Thursday at 11 o'clock. Mr. Riel and Mr. Bruce having retired, the Council resumed the consideration of the subject before

them, and the expediency of calling out an armed force to meet and protect Mr. Macdougall was suggested. But as it was seen that it would be from the English-speaking portion of the community that such a force, if forthcoming at all, would be chiefly drawn, the result would evidently be to bring into armed collision sections of the people who, although they had hitherto lived together in comparative harmony, yet differed from each other so widely in point of race, language, and religion, as well as in general habits, that the commencement of actual hostilities would probably involve not only themselves but the surrounding Indians in a protracted and sanguinary struggle. The Council therefore felt that without a regular military force to fall back upon they could hardly be held justified under the circumstances in resorting to measures so full of possible mischief to the whole country.

The Council, having learned that a number of the most intelligent and influential people among the French were not implicated in the hostile movement against Mr. Macdougall, adopted the following resolution, which was moved by Mr. Bannatyne, and seconded by Mr. McBeath, viz.:—

That Messrs. Dease and Goulet be appointed to collect immediately as many of the more respectable of the French community as they could, and with them proceed to the camp of the party who intend to intercept

Governor Macdougall, and endeavour, if possible, to procure their peaceable dispersion; and that Mr. Dease report to Governor McTavish on or before Thursday next as to their success or otherwise."

This is the reason of the Council's inaction, and that of the Hudson's Bay Governor. The same reason made it difficult for Mr. Donald A. Smith to get the French half-breeds to take a constitutional course, for Riel held personal sway over them. The loyalty of the Metis was to themselves, as British subjects descended from Canadians; the loyalty of Riel and his council was to himself alone.

Canadians naturally looked upon the act of insurrection as a breach of faith. At much trouble and expense they had completed a bargain with the Hudson's Bay Company, and they felt that it should be carried out and the country be peaceably handed over. Until this was done and peace restored, the Canadian Government temporarily withdrew from the bargain, taking the ground that while Canada had bound herself to pay over the money, the Hudson's Bay Company, on the other hand, was bound to hand the country over to Canada.

CHAPTER IV.

RIEL IN THE ASCENDANT.

LET us now return to matters that were creating an excitement in the Canadian world, and to the delicate position in which the Honourable Mr. Macdougall found himself placed. As Canadians on the spot, we beheld with pleasure the advent of the Lieutenant-Governor, and were disposed to judge severely all who were not inclined to view the coming of the Queen's representative in the same light. In this we represented the ambition and hopes of Canada, in having so magnificent a domain added to her boundaries, the value of which, being resident in the country, we thoroughly appreciated. We could not enter into the feelings of those who were about to be subjected to a new order of things, the effect of which no one, at this time, could know. There was, however, a general feeling in the country that a change of government was desirable, otherwise greater opposition might have arisen to its occupation by Canada, which would probably have altered the current of affairs. As things were, the Imperial Government, when it realized that there was opposition to the transfer on the part of

the local population, refused to consummate the bargain made, or to send troops to establish the sovereignty of Canada without the people's consent, or rather without a due recognition of their claims.

Riel, about this time, irritated the people by petty acts of tyranny. He seized and opened the mails. He stopped Dr. Schultz's freight and examined it, as he claimed, to see whether there were any arms or ammunition concealed, and to collect the customs duties upon it. He seized the printing press of a local journal, the *Northwester*, belonging to Dr. Bown. On the 6th November he entered the printing office with about twenty armed men, requiring Dr. Bown to do some printing for him. Bown refused, and was arrested and placed under guard, and while he was under arrest Riel used his office to do the necessary printing. About this time, also, Captain Cameron, with his man-servant, drove to the barrier at River Sale, having left his wife—a daughter of Sir Charles Tupper—at Scratching River to await her husband's return. Captain Cameron arrived safely at the barrier, and seeing he could not drive through the obstruction, sitting up in the seat with his arms folded across his breast, he ordered the rebels to remove "that blasted fence." The half-breeds laughed; but liking the pluck of the Captain, they took his horses by the bridles and led him up to Father Richot's house, where, it is said, he was invited in, some refreshments were offered, and,

after a quiet chat, he was ordered to proceed on his return journey to Pembina. It was Riel's tyrannical acts at this time that prevented the English-speaking portion of the community from working harmoniously with the French half-breeds, in an honest desire to meet the views of the Canadian Commissioners who were sent with full powers to satisfy the people that their rights would be respected. Had Riel not been seeking to gain personal power, the unfortunate results which followed would have been avoided.

Direct communication with Fort Garry having been cut off by the seizure of the mails, Colonel Dennis determined upon going to Pembina to confer personally with the Governor. Accompanied by Mr. Hallet, an intelligent and loyal half-breed, he set out from Fort Garry on the 1st of November for Pembina, crossing the prairie to avoid the main trail. Arrived there, he remained till the 1st of December, when he returned with a commission from the Governor appointing him Lieutenant and Conservator of the Peace. Events now crowded upon one another with rapidity, and Riel's actions became bolder day by day. About Fort Garry he exercised supreme and unquestioned authority.

Being in full possession of the Fort, and feeling the strength of his position, Riel commenced to lay his plans for the assumption of further power. In this he was anxious to have the countenance of the English-speaking

part of the population. When he took possession of the printing office of Dr. Bown, he had a proclamation printed, calling a meeting, composed of his own council and twelve delegates, who were to be selected from the various English parishes, to discuss the affairs of the country. The English settlers hesitated to countenance in any way the proceedings Riel had initiated; but in the hopes that their counsels might lead to a peaceful solution of the difficulties, they determined to attend the meeting. The convention assembled in the Court-house of the settlement near Fort Garry, on the 16th of November, and was guarded by an armed force. In the meantime Mr. McTavish had entered a protest against the unlawful acts which had already been committed, and this was read and discussed at the meeting. This protest or proclamation was issued on the 12th of November, upon the demand of a number of influential people, who thought public notice should be taken of the illegal proceedings. Riel expressed his intention of forming a provisional government, and the convention felt it was only invited to carry out his behests and to give the appearance of countenancing them. The members present were not disposed to overturn the lawful authority which at the time existed, and which was only lying dormant in consequence of the authority Riel had usurped. The convention adjourned till the 1st of December. In the interim, there were those at work

who still hoped to smooth over the difficulties by allowing authority to revert to its legal channel. They found, however, that Riel was determined to press his own authority. He had prepared what he called a "Bill of Rights," which, in itself, with the exception of some unconstitutional clauses, contained no disloyal or objectionable features. This was passed by the convention. The English members made an attempt to bring about a conference with the Governor upon this basis, but Riel took a personal stand against the latter and would not listen to reason. They therefore dispersed, feeling that they could not join in the unreasonable opposition Riel seemed determined upon giving, and which was likely to jeopardize the peace of the settlement. The colony was isolated from the outer world by hundreds of miles of prairie, with an Indian population in their midst, which, it was feared, would take advantage of the excitement to commit depredations.

While matters in the settlements had reached the stage I have related, the Governor still remained at Pembina, awaiting the date upon which it had been arranged that the proclamation should be issued transferring the territory to Canada. Mr. Macdougall, no doubt, unaware of the altered policy of the Canadian Government, and thinking that the Queen's proclamation, which by pre-arrangement was to issue on the 2nd of December, would duly arrive, and that it had been only

delayed in the mails, and being also impatient at his detention in Pembina, he boldly determined upon a *Coup d'Etat.* He issued a proclamation of his own, proclaiming himself Governor of the territory, and crossed the boundary line for the purpose of reading it on Canadian soil and giving it full legal effect. At the same time, by virtue of this proclamation, he commissioned Colonel Dennis to enter the territory and raise a force to quell the insurrection, giving him extended powers in the premises. About the 20th of November, Mr. Newcombe had gone out to Pembina to the Honourable Mr. Macdougall, to see what was to be done about protecting the Government provisions. Mr. Macdougall kept him there and sent him back with copies of his proclamation in French and English; and after many adventures he arrived on the 30th of November. Colonel Dennis arrived on the following day, by way of St. John's, with a further supply of the proclamation, and handed them to me and others to copy out, and have posted up in conspicuous places, as the printing presses had been seized by Riel. This task we gladly undertook, feeling that a lawful authority now existed which would make itself felt. Colonel Dennis informed us of his intention to raise a force and establish the authority of the Governor; and instructed me and others to follow him to the Stone Fort, which was a post of the Hudson's Bay Company, thirty miles down the river towards Lake

Winnipeg. The proclamation we posted up in various parts of the settlement, and I, with Mr. Hart and others of his surveying parties, followed him to the Stone Fort, Major Webb being sent to Portage la Prairie there to organize four companies. We found that good feeling existed on the part of the English-speaking people, who were desirous that a vigorous and legal authority should be established to deal with the serious aspect of affairs. Colonel Dennis set vigorously to work, called upon the people to support him, and organized a force intending to deal summarily with the usurper Riel, and those who had joined him.

The effect of the proclamation upon the people of Winnipeg was very marked. They soon saw that submission to the new authority would become necessary, and that a choice would have to be made between the Provisional Government, sought to be established by Riel, and the Canadian Government, represented in the person of Colonel Dennis.

At the time, the tone of the people in Winnipeg was decidedly loyal; and, had Mr. Macdougall's authority been legal, and had Colonel Dennis remained in Winnipeg to enforce it, it would have been maintained. But after the people had recovered from the first surprise, it began to be whispered about that all was not right; and there were some who felt that if the transfer of the country had actually taken place, they

would have been apprised of it. But before these doubts got into circulation, Colonel Dennis had retired to the Lower Fort, and thither all those who wished to join him repaired.

In Dr. Schultz's storehouse was a quantity of Government provisions brought up to supply the surveying parties and the workmen on the Government road during the winter. These provisions were of great importance in the isolated position of the country, for they could not easily be replaced; and as there had been a large addition to the population during the summer, provisions would most likely be scarce. Consequently, a very jealous eye was kept on these stores, especially as Riel fully appreciated their value, and aroused our fears by coming over to Dr. Schultz's place and taking an inventory of the property. Riel attempted to put a guard on the provisions, stating that his reasons for doing so were lest *we* might take them and he be accused of the theft. To hold on to these provisions, and to protect Dr. Schultz's property, were the reasons which led the Canadians to occupy his premises and defend what they felt to be their food for the coming winter. The Canadians all went down to the Stone Fort, to enrol with Colonel Dennis, and the Colonel sent them back to Winnipeg to remain there and keep together for mutual protection. It was on their return to Winnipeg that they occupied the Doctor's premises. On the 4th December a memo-

randum came from Colonel Dennis requesting the Canadians to withdraw from the village; but it was decided, after anxious consultation, to remain, as no better place offered at the time where the party could keep together for safety and protection. In coming to this decision they were influenced by the natural desire to prevent the provisions, upon which all depended for the winter, falling into Riel's hands, while at the time no one thought of the probability of an attack.

Colonel Dennis lost no time in taking active measures for the suppression of the rising. He requisitioned and purchased supplies, arms and ammunition, and proceeded to the formation of companies in various parishes, a duty which he entrusted to me. With the first call for loyal support a large number of Christianized Indians from the neighbourhood of Lake Winnipeg, under Chief Prince, came to offer their services. Individual members also flocked in, and Colonel Dennis soon found that he would have a number of men to tax heavily his commissariat. I immediately left for the parishes, for the purpose of enrolling the different companies, appointing their officers, and drilling them. I found a ready response to the call. In each parish I formed a company of fifty, appointed officers and non-commissioned officers, and arranged for their drill. I went to Winnipeg and formed the men who had returned there into a company, with Dr. Lynch

as Captain, Mr. Miller, 1st Lieutenant, and Mr. Allan, 2nd Lieutenant. I directed them to remain where they were until further orders; to make no offensive movement; and, if necessary, to defend themselves, but on no account to fire the first shot.

On reaching Kildonan, the parish adjoining Winnipeg, I held a public meeting in the evening, to enrol members of the company, and it was at that meeting I had the first doubts thrown upon the legality of the proceedings which the Governor had taken. I was questioned closely by Mr. William Frazer and one or two others, as to the seal that had been attached to the proclamation, wishing to know if it was under the Queen's seal. I could only reply that I knew nothing about seals, that I was there acting under the orders of my superior officers, and that my duty was simply to enrol men. My explanation was accepted by the majority, who apparently were not anxious to question too closely the authority; and after Judge Black had been consulted as to the legality of the proceedings, I succeeded in enrolling a full company, including Mr. Frazer and those who had been my questioners.

On the following day, about the 6th of December, the company fell in, were formed up, and spent the day in drilling. In the evening I intended to pass on to St. James' parish, to enrol a similar company there. But in the afternoon I received a letter from Colonel Dennis

telling me he did not wish Dr. Schultz to occupy his buildings any longer; that he could not support him, and that he wished him to retire. I rode to Dr. Schultz's house, arriving there during the night, and found them all assembled in the two houses. I informed the Doctor of Colonel Dennis's wishes, and a consultation of a few of the leading men was held. It was agreed that it was too late to evacuate the premises that night, but it should be done on the following day. There were a number of ladies present, and arrangements could not at any earlier moment be properly made for their departure. During the night Riel paraded the town with a number of men and performed a variety of evolutions, and about two o'clock in the morning he returned to the Fort. There was much excitement in the town over the action being taken by Colonel Dennis, and in consequence Riel aroused the spirit of his people and called to his support a large following in the Fort. To their great credit be it said, a strong party of the French, under Dease, remained aloof, and steadily refused to be drawn into any unlawful or disloyal action. In fact, I think, very few of the French half-breeds were really disloyal, and, in other hands would have been open to reason. But Riel, by persuasion, insidious arguments, and promises of reward, which he was enabled to make good from the stores he controlled in Fort Garry, succeeded in gathering a strong force. This, however, we did not know at the time, for

Riel's support was drawn from the parishes to the south of the Assiniboine, while the English parishes lay to the north, and little communication was at that time held between them.

Early on the following morning I went on my way to St. James' parish, about three miles to the west of Winnipeg, to enrol a company there. When I left, there were a number of people about and a great deal of excitement. This, however, was the case every morning, and it was expected about noon that Dr. Schultz and those with him would be able to retire without exciting any opposition on the part of Riel. I held a meeting in Rev. Mr. Pinckham's parish about nine o'clock, and, after arranging for the enrolment of a company, I went across the prairie to Kildonan, where I drilled a company during the day, and had provisions and blankets put into a house for the reception of Dr. Schultz's party. About four o'clock in the evening, the party not having arrived, I went up to Winnipeg but was unable to get into the village. I then heard that they had surrendered, in response to negotiations opened by Mr. Snow, who went to the Fort on behalf of the party and the property on the premises. Riel was told that they had only assembled at Dr. Schultz's to protect themselves and their property, and if Riel would guarantee that their lives and property would not be threatened they would retire quietly to their homes. This was answered by a written command

to surrender in fifteen minutes, and backed by an additional force of 200 men. The messenger who brought the message led the party to believe that it would be a mere matter of form, that they would be marched to the Fort and set at liberty, and that all property would be respected. Their hands were tied, by the strict orders that had been issued, that they were on no account to fire the first shot. Of this Riel had heard, and it emboldened him in the action he took. It is fortunate that so much moderation was shown by Dr. Schultz, Dr. Lynch and others, or hostilities might have commenced on that occasion. The whole party, with the exception of the ladies, were made prisoners on reaching Fort Garry.* Riel was, no doubt, further emboldened in this action by the knowledge, which had now become almost a certainty with him, that the action taken by the Governor was illegal.

I hastened to return to Colonel Dennis with news of the surrender of Dr. Schultz's party, but was met by a courier with a letter from him informing me that he had abandoned his project and was leaving the country. He instructed me to go to Portage la Prairie and hold a conference with a tribe there of Sioux, asking them to remain peaceable and loyal to the Queen, and not to interfere in the difficulties that had arisen. These Sioux

* This historic house is still standing, and is now called the Royal Exchange. It is nearly opposite the Bank of Montreal, Winnipeg.

FORT GARRY.

were the remnants of the tribe that had committed a massacre in Dakota, in 1863, when twelve hundred whites fell victims to their lust of blood. They found protection under the British Government and had lived peaceably in our midst ever since. I was relieved to find that they had no desire to break the peace, as Chief Little Fox assured me.

Before leaving, Colonel Dennis had taken steps to send similar messages to other tribes, with a request to remain at peace. He instructed me at the same time to remain in the country and do my utmost to keep matters quiet. I proceeded at once to High Bluff and Portage la Prairie to carry out his instructions and was nearly made prisoner on my way thither by a party of Riel's men who were encamped in a house about half way to intercept messengers. While there I met Colonel Dennis, who was on his way to Pembina to rejoin Mr. Macdougall. I remained at Portage la Prairie during the winter, receiving the hospitality of the Rev. Mr. George and Mr. Alcock.

Disquieting rumours were now the order of the day. The sudden collapse of Colonel Dennis's movement and the capture of fifty prisoners, who were detained in the Fort, gave Riel complete control over the country. He, however, confined his jurisdiction to the neighbourhood of Fort Garry and the town of Winnipeg; but his ambition was greatly stimulated by his success, and his

success emboldened some to uphold the authority he had usurped.

We must now revert to what was passing in Canada upon the news reaching it of Riel's acts and of the half-breed depredations.

CHAPTER V.

THE PLOT THICKENS.

COMMUNICATION at the time with the outside world was very slow; four hundred and fifty miles had to be crossed to St. Paul, the nearest telegraph station.

The Honourable Mr. Howe, Secretary of State, who, previous to accepting a portfolio, had been the leader of a party in Nova Scotia strenuously opposed to Confederation upon the terms of settlement, had just visited the country. Mr. Howe had taken a strongly hostile position in the matter of his own province, appealing to the foot of the throne for repeal or for the redress of grievances from which his province suffered. The policy of confederating the provinces being a broad and grand scheme, could not be jeopardized by any precipitate action on the part of one of the provinces; and Mr. Howe, in his loyalty to the crown, no doubt felt that a modification of the terms of union was better than to upset the great work just consummated. With these views he took a seat in the Dominion Cabinet. As a member of the Government, previous to Mr. Macdougall's departure for Manitoba, Mr. Howe paid a visit to the North-West

Territory; and probably from his sympathetic nature, having just come from the agitation of grievances in his own province, he sought for information as to the condition of affairs in Manitoba, suited to his own peculiar views. On his return to Canada, he met the Honourable Mr. Macdougall, his colleague in the Government, who was then on his way to the country in the capacity of Governor. Strangely enough, the two statesmen met and parted without exchanging ideas, or without giving information the one to the other upon the local questions disturbing the public mind in the newly-acquired territory.

A good deal of comment arose from the fact that Mr. Howe did not enlighten Mr. Macdougall upon the result of his inquiries. But Mr. Howe did not realize from the information he obtained that Riel's movements threatened the peace of the country, and wrote privately to the Governor from St. Paul upon matters of general policy.

The Government in the previous session had passed an Act for the administration of affairs in the North-West suitable to a crown colony, and, with the highest motives and in an enterprising spirit, provided for the government of the territory. But finding that, in addition to paying three hundred thousand pounds for the acquisition of the territory, possibly a greater burden might be in store to obtain or enforce possession, the

Government withheld the purchase money, and caused a postponement of the proclamation annexing it to Canada.

The Government, however, sent friendly commissioners, in the persons of Vicar-General Thibault, who had spent many years in the country, and Colonel de Salaberry, to assure the people of their good intentions, and also appointed Mr. Donald A. Smith, an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, a commissioner on behalf of Canada. The two former were sent for the purpose of enlightening the French half-breeds as to the good disposition of the Government towards them, and to reassure the people. The latter was armed with a commission giving him more extended powers. They arrived almost simultaneously. But Riel by this time had so agitated the public mind and acquired such power that his ambition knew no bounds. He was therefore not disposed to allow any influence to be used over his people, which would interfere with the plans maturing in his mind for the founding of an independent state, probably flying the stars and stripes, with himself as dictator, in the full enjoyment of all the honours and emoluments of the position. His people, however, were loyal to Canadian connection; so his schemes in that direction were happily frustrated.

Riel was a man of great natural ability. He had been well educated, at the expense of Madame Masson, whose

aid had been obtained by the kind interest of Archbishop Tache, who, recognizing the boy's ability, had hoped to educate him for the priesthood. At the time when the political troubles arose in the settlement, Riel was a freighter on the plains between St. Paul and Winnipeg. While so occupied he acquired much knowledge of the half-breed character, and his education, on the other hand, enabled him to exercise considerable influence on the half-breed in return. At this formative period in his life, he drew a great deal of inspiration from American companions and counsellors, of whom there were not a few at the time in the neighbourhood.

Archbishop Tache's acquaintance with Riel will prove of interest to show the latter's early training and career. Had Riel remained under the guidance of this venerable prelate, he might have been a useful citizen of the country to-day; but his depraved, ambitious nature and lack of moral rectitude has brought him to the unerring fate of the criminal. I here insert the following cutting from a newspaper. On being interviewed the Archbishop made this statement:

"Every old settler knows the facts, but I will again go over the simple story in a few words for the benefit of the public. When I returned to the Red River settlement from the far north to resume my episcopal duties, I found then, in the small college attached to my See at St. Boniface, three Metis lads, one French, one German, and one Scotch, viz., Macdougall (since dead),

Schmidt, and Riel. I found them studying Latin, and took a great interest in their aptness for study. While in Montreal in 1858 I obtained admission for two of them to the College of Montreal, and for the other at St. Hyacinthe College. They went to college that year, and I returned to my diocese. In 1867, while in Montreal on a visit, I met Riel and told him that now that I had secured an education for him he must begin to look out for himself and endeavour to gain a respectable living. He went to the United States and remained there until he returned to his mother in the Red River settlement in the fall of 1868. From the time of his return till the outbreak of 1869 I did not see much of him, being a good deal absent in connection with my duties, so, as a matter of fact, I had but a comparatively slight acquaintance with Riel."

Reil's vanity and self-confidence had been immensely puffed up by the success he had gained through a variety of fortuitous circumstances, which had so far helped him. He could not be called a bold man, for he felt his way, bit by bit, but was clever enough to take advantage of the circumstances favouring his schemes.

He did not at first ignore Mr. Donald A. Smith, as a commissioner from the Canadian Government, but admitted him into the Fort, where he was allowed to take up his quarters with his brother officers of the Company. Here, however, he was virtually a prisoner in his hands, and was not allowed to exercise his authority as a commissioner, but remained a mere spectator of the events daily occurring in and around the Fort. Nor was he able to exercise any influence in obtaining the release of

the prisoners or in mitigating the severity of the rule which Riel exercised in the vicinity of Fort Garry. Neither was the mission of the Rev. Mr. Thibault or of Colonel de Salaberry productive of results, though they were allowed a greater freedom than was accorded to Mr. Smith, whom Riel regarded with suspicion, as an official of the Canadian Government. On their arrival at Fort Garry, Mr. Thibault and Colonel de Salaberry handed their papers to Riel, who took possession of them, and that was the last that was seen of them. Mr. Donald A. Smith was more wary, and took the precaution of leaving his papers at Pembina, in the care of Mr. Provencher, until he could be assured of bringing them in with safety.

The indignities the prisoners suffered while in close confinement were humiliating in the extreme. They were detained for no offence, but merely that Riel might use them to serve his purpose in any way that seemed to him expedient. Their confinement and poor food were not long in telling on them; but they were unable to get release, or any amelioration of their lot, for Riel was obdurate, and they were closely guarded by a large force. Their sufferings were greater by reason of the inclemency of the weather, it now being the depth of winter; and neither sufficient warmth or clothing was allowed them. Having been confined for some weeks without any hope of speedy release, nothing having so far been accomplished

by the mission of Mr. Smith, some of the prisoners determined to effect their escape. The guards had become careless; and, an opportunity presenting itself, they made a dash for their liberty. But the difficulties they had to contend with in finding their way across the snow-clad prairies after effecting their escape were greater than they anticipated. Out of twelve who escaped seven were re-taken. One of them, poor Hyman, was badly frozen. Charles Mair, and Thomas Scott, whose life was afterwards taken by Riel, reached Portage la Prairie.

The prisoners had hitherto been confined in the Company's gaol, outside the Fort, which was in rather a dilapidated condition; but after this they were removed to quarters inside the Fort. Their re-incarceration occurred on the 9th of January, 1870. Dr. Schultz was confined in a room by himself; and this act led the doctor to fear that he had been marked out as a special object of Riel's vengeance. But the doctor was not the man quietly to submit to any sinister designs of such a man as Riel. He had a devoted and noble wife, who kept watch and ward, from without the walls of the Fort, over the welfare of the prisoners; and no doubt she managed to keep up some kind of communication with her husband. This we know, at any rate, that, with her assistance, preparations were made for her husband's escape, for towards the latter end of January great excitement was caused by the news that Dr. Schultz had gained his

liberty. With the assistance of a gimlet and knife, he contrived to open the windows of his prison, and by cutting his buffalo robe into strips, let himself down to *terra firma.* He then scaled the walls of the Fort, and under the friendly screen of a severe blizzard, finally obtained his freedom. Outside the Fort a cutter was in waiting to convey him a few miles off to the hospitable home of Mr. Macbeth, in the parish of Kildonan, where he was for the time in comparative safety. The chagrin of Riel, when it was discovered next morning that his most valued prisoner had effected his escape, amused his late comrades. They cheered to the echo on ascertaining that the news was true, despite the consequences that might befal, and in disregard of the abusive epithets Riel heaped upon them.

Doctor Schultz is an able, and in many ways, a remarkable man. Possessed of a magnificent physique and great force of character, he was popular in the cause he espoused, and was a tower of strength to it. No one could help admiring his firmness of purpose, the boldness of his policy, and the skill and judgment with which he achieved his ends. He came to the country a young man of nineteen, having already obtained his diploma as a doctor of medicine at Victoria College, Cobourg. With great ardour he identified himself with the country, intelligently appreciated its circumstances, and did yeoman service in its behalf. He fought with determination

against the whole power of the Hudson's Bay Company, defied them on their own ground, and succeeded in holding his own against their attempts to overthrow him. There is no doubt that it was very largely due to Dr. Schultz's boldness in dealing with the Company that the way was prepared for the acquisition of the country by the Dominion, for, with such a determined spirit to deal with, they were beginning to find it difficult to maintain their authority. He possessed the confidence of the people for many years afterwards as their representative in the Dominion Parliament, and upon being defeated, after a hot political contest, was rewarded for his services by being appointed to the Senate. It must be a matter of regret to all that the tax upon his mind and energies during these troublous times has now told upon his health; for in the last few years he has been an invalid, and unable to take his wonted place in the van of progress in the great North-West.

During this period Mr. Donald A. Smith had not wasted his time. With the assistance of Mr. McTavish and others he succeeded in weaning some of Riel's councillors and men; and when Riel found defections were taking place, he thought it best to wait upon Mr. Smith to inquire of him in person the object of his visit, and to ascertain what powers had been conferred upon him. Mr. Smith, however, had taken the precaution of leaving his papers at Pembina, to be sure of their safety, and

before replying to Riel, he asked permission to send his secretary for them. It was arranged that a public meeting should be held and the papers presented to the people, as Mr. Smith would not recognize Riel or his government. Now commenced a new game of Riel's. He thought he would try and get hold of these papers, as he had got Mr. Thibault's and Colonel de Salaberry's, but Mr. Smith was not to be caught. He sent Mr. Hardesty, his secretary, and arranged with him privately that a party would be sent to meet him. Riel kept back Mr. Hardesty without Mr. Smith's knowledge for twenty-four hours, trying to work upon him. He placed a sentry in Mr. Smith's room and one on his door, night and day, while Mr. Hardesty was away. However, a party went to meet the secretary about twenty miles from Fort Garry to escort him in, and as they were returning they were met by some of Riel's men who attempted to get the papers, but a loyal French half-breed drew his revolver and threatened to shoot the first man who interfered with Hardesty, and so the whole party returned to Fort Garry together, and Hardesty was conducted to the council chamber. Mr. Smith came there to receive the papers, and in handing them to Mr. Smith, O'Donohoe, a member of Riel's provisional government, attempted to snatch them, but Mr. Grant drew his revolver and prevented this. The scene, as described to me, was an exciting one. For Riel and his council were anxious to

get the papers, so as to deprive Mr. Smith of any authority before the people; and it required a great deal of planning on Mr. Smith's part to get possession of them.

Throughout the whole of these proceedings Mr. Donald A. Smith showed great diplomatic skill under very trying circumstances, opposed as he was by Riel's tyranny and cunning. At this time Riel was ably assisted by Père Lestance, with whom he secretly consulted, and who used his influence with the people to aid and support him. Mr. Smith, having obtained possession of his papers, now called a meeting of the people. This meeting, which was attended by upwards of a thousand people, was held in the open air, notwithstanding the fact that the thermometer ranged many degrees below zero. Its deliberations extended over two days. Riel managed to get himself appointed interpreter for the French half-breeds in placing before the people Mr. Smith's statements. This gave him considerable power over the proceedings of the meeting. Judge Black was appointed chairman. The reading of Mr. Smith's commission, the Queen's letter, and every other document was contested with much obstinacy by Riel, but ultimately without effect. According to Mr. Smith's report of the proceedings, the result was the appointment of forty delegates, twenty from either side, to meet on the 25th January, 1870, "with the object of considering the

subject of Mr. Smith's commission and to decide what course would be best to pursue for the welfare of the country." The English, as a body, and a large number of the French declared their entire satisfaction with the explanations given and their desire for union with Canada.

During this period Mr. Smith had been able to retain in the Fort about forty loyal French half-breeds, who assisted him in his efforts at conciliation. Riel, finding that the ground was thus slipping from under his feet, on the 22nd of January had a conference with these loyal supporters, and, with tears in his eyes, told them how earnestly he desired an arrangement with Canada. He further assured them he would lay down his authority immediately on the meeting of the Convention. Believing him sincere in this assurance, they agreed to leave the Fort, thinking that ten of their number would be sufficient to remain for its protection. They had hardly gone, however, when Riel resorted to more oppressive measures; and the Hudson's Bay Company's stores, which had hitherto been only partially in his hands, were now wholly taken possession of by Riel. It would be tedious to relate the tyrannous influences that Riel sought to wield about this time. On the 25th of January the Convention met, and Judge Black was appointed chairman. It sat for nearly fifteen days, and many were the earnest discussions for the welfare of the country. Mr. Smith

placed all his documents before the meeting and a "bill of rights" was prepared for submission to the Canadian Government. Riel was anxious to have a Province created and the question was discussed in Convention, but, on the 4th of February, a proposition to form a province was negatived by the meeting; and, on the following day, another motion, directed against the Hudson's Bay Company, was vetoed. Riel's language and conduct now became violent in the extreme. He put a guard upon Governor McTavish, who was then lying dangerously ill, and he took Dr. Cowan prisoner and placed him in confinement with the rest of his captives. Mr. Smith was also put under a strict guard.

The "bill of rights" was prepared and handed to Mr. Smith, who invited the Convention to appoint delegates to confer with the Dominion Government, and he assured them that their delegates would have a cordial reception and obtain recognition of their claims. The delegates named were Judge Black, Rev. Mr. Ritchot, and Mr. Alfred H. Scott. The Convention terminated on the 10th February, but, before closing, Riel succeeded in forming a provisional government with himself as president. In this government several delegates who were asked to join it declined to take part. As a condition, in forming his administration, Riel promised that the prisoners should be released, and on the following day he re-

leased six or eight of them. Riel had now accomplished the object of his desires; having formed an independent government by the vote of the Convention, to which he was himself elected president. If he had been sincere and pacific in his intentions he would have conducted the affairs of the country on a conciliatory basis, and have released all the prisoners. But he would not let go his personal hold, and continued to rule as an autocrat. If he had at once opened the prison doors and let all his unfortunate victims out, and allowed the people, without intimidation, to elect their delegates to the new Convention an honourable career might have been open to him. But this was not his course; and there was a want of moral stamina and diseased vanity in the man that has proved his ruin.

While these proceedings were going on at Fort Garry, I was in Portage la Prairie, with many others, who had there taken refuge at the commencement of the troubles. Our sources of information were meagre, as all mail communication was stopped, and we knew nothing about the action of the conventions, nor did we know what was going on at the Fort. Some of the people had friends among the prisoners and were anxious about their safety. Rumours came from time to time that they were suffering from close confinement and were ill-treated. Attempts had been made on one or two occasions to organize a party to secure their release, which I dis-

couraged, knowing that commissioners had been appointed by the Canadian Government on a mission of peace. My orders from Colonel Dennis, moreover, were to do my utmost to keep things quiet.

When Scott escaped from his prison he came to Portage la Prairie for safety and was warmly welcomed by the people. He gave graphic accounts of his imprisonment and escape, and once more the question was raised to organize a party to effect the release of the other prisoners. As it was known that I had previously discouraged such attempts, the meetings for the purpose of organization were held secretly and information kept from me. But when I discovered that they were determined to go, I felt it my duty to accompany them, and endeavour to keep them to the legitimate object for which they had organized. This I did, fearing that a rash act might bring trouble upon the country, the consequences of which would be serious, for I had now realized the dangerous position things had assumed in the early part of the troubles. Enthusiastic meetings were held and preparations were made for a start. The plan decided upon was to leave Portage la Prairie so as to arrive at Fort Garry before daybreak and surprise the Fort, which at that hour would probably be little guarded. We were then to release the prisoners and return. Everything being in readiness, on the 12th of February we took our departure, lightly armed, many of the men

having only oak clubs. We mustered at one o'clock, sixty strong, and marched off from Portage la Prairie on foot. Mr. Gaddy, an English half-breed, was one of the leaders. I was elected commander, and Mr. Farmer, now of Headingly, a captain, and other officers were appointed.

When one realizes the severity of the North-West climate, the thermometer ranging down to thirty or forty degrees below zero, and the month of February being the most inclement of the year, and that we had undertaken this trying march of sixty miles without transport and without provisions, the boldness of the undertaking will be seen to be great. But the earnestness which actuated the men in their desire to release their friends from a durance so vile, made them all cheerful under the circumstances. The men marched merrily along the frozen snow for about nine hours without rest until they reached Headingly, a settlement eighteen miles from Fort Garry. On the way, two prisoners were taken. I took the precaution to have them detained until we had passed on our way, that no information might reach Fort Garry in advance of our movements. The men's blood was up, and some felt that the prisoners we had taken had been too leniently dealt with, and should have been brought with the party; but I did not wish anything done that would arouse a feeling prejudicial to our movement, or that would imperil the safety of peaceable settlers, should

reprisals be taken. We picked up detachments at Poplar Point and High Bluff, on our way, and reached Headingly about midnight.

At Headingly, we sought shelter in the houses of settlers for the purpose of resting and preparing for the attack, which we proposed to make on the Fort at dawn. In the short space of an hour a storm arose, which soon turned into a North-West blizzard, during which it is perilous, if not fatal, for travellers to proceed on their way. This necessitated a change of plans. At Headingly all the settlers and half-breeds fully approved of the enterprise, and some joined the party. The blizzard blew for forty-eight hours without intermission, and we had to trust to the hospitality of our friends, whose kindness was unbounded.

On the morning following our arrival at Headingly, we assembled in Mr. Taylor's house to hold a meeting. I felt that I had lost the confidence of many of the men, who thought that I was not in earnest, and who knew that I was not in thorough accord with the expedition. At the meeting, feeling that without their confidence I could not proceed, I resigned the position to which they had elected me on leaving Portage La Prairie, explaining my reasons, and proposing that they should re-elect their officers. I was re-nominated, and some one at the meeting got up and asked, before having the motion put, "If Major Boulton meant fight." I answered that if by fighting they

meant leading the men on to any rash act or undertaking, irrespective of the consequences, I did not mean fighting; but if I was re-elected I would do my utmost to accomplish the object for which we had left the Portage, if I could see my way to accomplish this without undue risk to the force under my command. This satisfied the party, and I was duly re-elected their commander. I give these details thus minutely as I have always been credited with having raised the force at the Portage. I did not take that position; I felt a responsibility others did not feel, having been left behind with certain instructions; and my anxiety was to carry them out. As I could not alter their determination to attempt to release their friends, I went with them to help to guide them, for, realizing the serious position the settlement was placed in, my anxiety was to avoid any actual outbreak of hostilities. The blizzard interfered with our first plans, and I set about making preparations to accomplish our purpose by a different method.

The knowledge of our adventure was not known to the other settlements friendly to our cause; but rumours, no doubt, had by this time reached Riel's ears, and as soon as the storm abated sufficiently to permit of our travelling, two emissaries were sent to acquaint the friendly settlements of the object we had in view. Mr. Gaddy, with a companion, went to Dease, who was the leader of the loyal party in the French settlement; and Mr. Tay-

lor, afterwards the Hon. John Taylor, went with a companion to the English settlements to the north of Fort Garry, to tell them that a party had come down for the purpose of effecting the release of the prisoners, and that on the following day we proposed to march to Kildonan Church, and there await the arrival of reinforcements from their parishes.

We started from Headingly at eight o'clock on a fine moonlight night to march to the rendezvous, and had to pass close under the walls of the Fort in order to reach it. As we passed the Fort, the sentries saw us and fired a signal of alarm, which we took no notice of, but went on our way without interference. As we passed through the village of Winnipeg, we heard of a house which Riel used continually to visit. Thinking we might make a timely capture, we surrounded the house, and Scott and I entered to search for Riel; but the host assured us he was not there; so we passed on without disturbing the family. Some of the settlers, seeing us arrive at Kildonan, were alarmed at the sudden turn affairs had taken. The action of the Convention, they expected, was about to bring a peaceful solution of the difficulties, which they had hoped would be realized; but the appearance of another armed force on the scene cast all their hopes to the wind. Before leaving Portage la Prairie we had, of course, no knowledge of the arrangements that had been made between the commissioners and Riel and the

population, a few days before. Riel, we argued, brought this attack on by illegally, unjustly and cruelly keeping forty peaceable citizens in his prison, day after day, and month after month. So we moved on and reached Kildonan Church, where we took up our position as previously arranged, and made the people acquainted with the object we had in view. The news soon spread, and many people flocked to our assistance. The emissaries we had sent down to the lower settlements had returned and reported that a large force was coming up with Dr. Schultz.

It was a fine sight, about three o'clock in the afternoon, to see three or four hundred settlers marching up to our neighbourhood, headed by a small cannon, drawn by four oxen, the whole under the leadership of Dr. Schultz, whose powerful figure stood out boldly as he led them up. They came approving of the course that had been taken, and determined to assist. They were enraged at the insincerity of Riel, who had promised, upon the formation of the new provisional government, to have the prisoners released. He had broken his promise, and they felt that nothing but force would compel him to keep it. The utmost enthusiasm now prevailed, though there were many who felt great anxiety under the new turn of affairs, fearing that a conflict was inevitable, which so far had been happily averted. I shared in this anxiety, but the thought that immediately pressed upon

me was how to feed the large gathering. A subscription list was passed round to raise sufficient to purchase some supplies; but beyond a sovereign from Dr. Schultz, who emptied his pockets, and half a sovereign from one or two others, there was no money among the party, so we had to fall back upon the hospitality of the people in the immediate neighbourhood for our evening and morning meals. The Rev. Mr. Black placed his house, stores, and everything that he had at our disposal; and we camped in the church for the night.

Towards dusk, a prisoner, whose name was Parisien, was brought in as a suspected spy. He was taken in charge by the guard, and no more secure place offering, he was imprisoned underneath the pulpit. On the following morning, he asked permission to go out. Leave being granted, he was accompanied by the sergeant of the guard and two men. Around the church were numbers of people, and others constantly arriving; their sleighs and cutters were standing about, and in one of these was a gun lying on the seat. This caught the eye of Parisien, who was as quick as lightning to conceive the idea of escape. He made a bolt from the guard, seized the gun from the cutter, and ran for the banks of the river, only a few yards distant. As he got down the bank there happened to be riding towards the church on the frozen river the son of Mr. (now Senator) Sutherland. He was coming from his father's house to join the

force, and without any knowledge of what had occurred, this poor young fellow, about one-and-twenty years of age, was suddenly fired at twice by the prisoner, both shots taking effect.

The ruffianly act was seen by the people on the bank, who had witnessed the attempt to escape, and they immediately began firing on Parisien, who continued his flight. The object he had in view, in shooting young Sutherland, was evidently to seize his horse to assist him to escape, or to prevent Sutherland riding after him. From where I was, inside the church, I heard the firing, and rushed out to ascertain what was going on. When I was informed of the shooting, I ran down the bank and found poor Sutherland lying on the snow still alive. I had him carried into the house of the Rev. Mr. Black, where Dr. Schultz and another doctor present attended him. The poor young fellow lingered through the day and then died. As soon as I had seen him placed in Mr. Black's house, I went off down the river to ascertain what had taken place in regard to Parisien. I saw about half a mile distant a large crowd. I ran to them and found that they had caught the prisoner and were handling him severely. They were infuriated at the death of Sutherland, and intended showing their captive no mercy. His feet were tied together with a sash, and he was being dragged along the ice by another sash, which was tied around his neck. Before long he would, no doubt, have suffered the conse-

quences of his act. But I interfered, and had him taken in charge and brought back to the church, determined to allow no hasty act or feeling to prejudice our proceedings, as his case was one for a judicial trial. When the force broke up on the following day Parisien was sent down in charge of a guard to the lower fort: on his way down he again tried to escape, but was fired upon by the guard, who recaptured him, and about a month after he died of his wounds.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DRAMA OF THE REBELLION.

IN the meantime, while this movement was in progress, a message was sent to Riel demanding the release of the prisoners. We had to act promptly, as we had gathered in great numbers, amid much enthusiasm, but the force was poorly armed, and without provisions or the means of maintaining our position for any length of time. I felt that delay was therefore dangerous. A number of settlers were anxious that no collision should take place which would throw the settlement into convulsions; and messengers bearing counsels of peace passed between Fort Garry and us. These settlers brought pressure to bear upon Riel, who now realized the danger of his position should determined action on our part be taken. The majority of his men were only half-hearted in supporting his arbitrary measures, and it was only by rousing their fears and appealing to their prejudices that he could keep them loyal to himself. Riel saw this, and acted accordingly.

The negotiations resulted in his releasing the prisoners and allowing them all to come down and report themselves

to us. They arrived at Kildonan Church about two o'clock in the afternoon, and the question now arose whether the advantages we had already gained by the demonstration should be followed up, to oust Riel from his position in the Fort. The Bishop of Rupert's Land, Archdeacon Maclean, Judge Black, and many others, came down to counsel peace; but I had much difficulty in withstanding the excitement of the assembled force, who thought further action should be pressed. I argued with them that the object for which the expedition had been undertaken was gained, in the release of the prisoners, who had been so long confined. I also cautioned them that while it was a legitimate effort on their part to make, the moment we attempted anything further we were as amenable to the law as were Riel and his followers, and would be responsible for any danger that might threaten the settlement. These counsels prevailed, though an aggressive policy was abandoned with great reluctance by many who thought that we should show more courage in withstanding Riel. This discussion took up some time, but about four o'clock in the afternoon I was able to announce that the object for which we had assembled had been successfully accomplished, and that there was no further need for the services of those who had so loyally come forward to effect the release of the prisoners.

In half an hour the assembly dispersed as quickly as it had come together, the majority at once retiring

north to their settlements. Those who had come from Portage la Prairie now made arrangements to return to their homes, but as this could only be done by passing Fort Garry, they kept together and camped for the night in Mr. Boyd's store, at Point Douglass. The following morning a council was held, at which it was determined to return home at once. I knew that to march past the Fort in a body would only tempt Riel to make another attack, so I urged that we should dismiss and accept the hospitality of our friends in the English settlements until the excitement had somewhat quieted down, when we could return singly, and if captured it would have no political significance. An old pensioner, who had been a sergeant-major in the British service, argued that we had come down like brave men and that we should go back like brave men, in a body; and as most of the party were anxious to reach their homes his counsel prevailed, although I rebuked him for taking the responsibility upon himself of recommending so imprudent a course.

Their determination was strengthened by the statement that Riel had sent a message to say that he did not intend taking any more prisoners and that our safety would be assured. If such a message did reach us I knew it was a treacherous message, for I felt that Riel, protected by the walls of the Fort and by a numerous force, collected in expectation of an attack, was not likely to forego the advantage of making an easy capture

of new prisoners. Some of my friends urged me not to openly join the returning party, as having been its commander I would, most likely, be the first to suffer; but I determined, whatever happened, to stay with my party, as we had a long way to go to reach home. Having made up our minds to start, I concluded that no time should be lost; so, about nine o'clock in the morning, we made our preparations. As the travelled road would take us within a few hundred yards of Fort Garry, I thought it better to cross the open prairie to St. James' parish, which would keep us about a mile and a half from the Fort, although the difficulty of travelling in the deep snow was very great. In taking this course I was in hopes that Riel would see that we wished to avoid a conflict and to return to our homes peaceably. As we were leaving, news came that Mr. Gaddy, the emissary whom I had sent down to advise Dease and his loyal party of our action, had been captured and hanged that morning. This news did not at all reassure me, but it afterwards turned out that it was only a threat. At last, we started out across the plains in single file, following closely in one another's footsteps, on account of the depth of the snow, which was up to our waists; and in this order we marched until we got opposite the Fort, when we observed a party of men on horseback issuing out of it. They marched towards us, followed about two hundred

yards in the rear by some fifty men on foot. We kept steadily on our way, without hesitation, until they approached within a hundred and fifty yards, when some of the men asked for orders, whether we should form up for defence. I gave strict orders that on no account should a shot be fired or any hostility be provoked; and the party on horseback, numbering about fifty, continued to approach us. I sent forward one of the half-breeds to parley, and to inform them that we were quietly returning to our homes—I following him. The party, headed by O'Donohue and Lepine, then came forward, and O'Donohue asked, "What party is this?" I answered "It is a party of men returning to the Portage." He then asked, "Is Major Boulton here?" I replied that I was the man, at which he expressed pleasure, and informed me that Riel had sent him out from the Fort to meet us, and to invite us to the Fort to hold a parley. I told him that we wished to go on our way without interference.

While this conversation was going on, Lepine went up to one of the men, named Murdoch Macleod, a fine young Scotchman, who belonged to my party. He had his revolver in his hand, and Lepine attempted to wrest it from him. This was an aggressive movement on Lepine's part, and no doubt intended to provoke hostilities. I was afraid that in the struggle the revolver would go off, which would be the signal for a massacre, from which there was no escape. We were not armed; we

were up to our waists in snow; and in the presence of double our number, who were well armed, supported by a large force in the Fort near by, and who were excited over the events of the previous day. Under the circumstances I knew that it would be criminal to jeopardize the lives of the settlers who formed the party, many of whom had left large families at home. I therefore ordered Macleod to give up the revolver, and signalled the party to follow me to the Fort. Thither we marched, side by side, on the invitation of Mr. O'Donohue, who said that Riel wished to see us at the Fort, to hold a parley, although I felt there was treachery in the invitation. In support of this I here quote an extract from a statement made by O'Donohue, bearing upon these events which is in possession of his brother:—

"During the 15th and 16th several self-constituted delegates of peace and order passed between both armies, but on the morning of the 16th one Norquay was officially sent by the revolters, stating that the English party would not recognize the provisional government. Riel at once cast this commissioner into prison, where he allowed him to remain till the evening of the same day, when he liberated him, and the following letter he handed him for the English party as a reply to their mission:

FORT GARRY, Feb. 16th, 1870.

"'FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,—Mr. Norquay came this morning with a message and even he has been detained. He will reach you time enough to tell you that for my part I understand that war, horrible, civil war, is the destruction

of this country. We are ready to meet any party, but peace over British rights we want before all. Gentlemen, the prisoners are out—they have sworn to keep peace. We have taken the responsibility of our past acts. Mr. Wm. McTavish has asked you for the sake of God to form and complete the provisional government; your representatives have joined us on that ground. Who will now come and destroy the Red River Settlement?

LOUIS RIEL.

"Accompanying this letter Riel gave a verbal guarantee that should the opposing party disband none of them would be molested on their peaceable return to their homes. Relying on this assurance, both parties disbanded. In violation of this guarantee, Riel ordered out his men to attack them as soon as they came in sight; but the Portage party, confiding in Riel's honour, made no resistance, and they surrendered and were marched prisoners into Fort Garry. I commanded the party to whom the Portage party surrendered, but was in total ignorance of the guarantees Riel had made them the evening previous, and only learned of their existence from one of the party after they were marched into the Fort. Immediately after this I had an interview with Riel and I demanded of him if the statements were true. Riel did not deny the statements, but positively asserted that he alone was responsible for his acts, and, guarantee or no guarantee, those men should remain in prison."

We reached the Fort in about half an hour, and, entering the gates, which were at once closed behind us, we were immediately surrounded by about four hundred men. My party was marched off to quarters assigned them, a house in the centre of the Fort, which had been used by the clerks of the Hudson's Bay Company as

a residence. There they were disarmed and everything of value taken from them. I was placed in a room by myself, and the rest of the prisoners, for such we were, about forty in number, were placed in rooms adjoining. In the hall was placed a strong guard of about twenty men, armed with British rifles and fixed bayonets.

About a quarter-of-an-hour after I was placed in my room, a guard came in and put handcuffs and chains on my legs. I was given an old buffalo robe to lie down on and a pitcher of water and a piece of pemican were placed by my side. Shortly after this I heard the door open and Riel looked in. Without entering, he said, "Major Boulton, you prepare to die to-morrow at twelve o'clock." I answered, "Very well," and he retired. I was now left to my cogitations, which were not of the most pleasant description. By means of a knot-hole which I had knocked out of the wooden partition, I managed to communicate with the prisoners in the next room, and told them what had happened. I then sat down to take off my moccasins and stockings, which were wet through by the snow and the perspiration arising from the exertions of our march. When I got them off, I was able to slip the chain from my legs, but the noise aroused the sergeant of the guard, who came in, and thinking that I was attempting to escape, he alarmed the guard and marched them all in, filling the room. Taking no notice of them, I wrung out my stockings, put them

on again, with my leg chains and moccasins, while they gravely looked on. Fearing, however, that my actions meant more than appeared on the surface, the guard was ordered to retire and a sentry was placed inside the room.

The difficulty of the position in which I now found myself was great. I was in a room without heat, the thermometer being many degrees below zero, with nothing but the bare floor to lie upon, and with chains on my hands and feet, and a guard set over me. To add to my depression, I was under sentence of death by a man who, in order to make a show of his power, I felt was fully prepared to carry out his dark deed. My feelings may therefore be better imagined than described. But I was not going to give up without an effort, and I felt that the first thing I had to do was to acquaint my friends with what had taken place; so I asked the sentry to get me paper and pencil. He had to send to Riel before he dare grant my request. However, I got the paper, and wrote a note to Archdeacon Maclean, now Bishop of Saskatchewan, to inform him of what had occurred, and of my impending fate, and wishing him to come and visit me. My letter was taken to Riel, who in about an hour's time returned with the paper in his hand. He came into the room to question me. He asked me what was my object in coming down with the force. I answered, "For the purpose of releasing

the prisoners whom you were unjustly and unlawfully detaining." He further asked me what was the oath we took. I told him, to leave no stone unturned until we had accomplished our purpose. He then asked me what I intended to do when I entered the house where he was supposed to be. I told him, to take him prisoner, and then to exchange him for those of our friends in the Fort. After further questioning, he said, "Very well; you wish to see Archdeacon Maclean? I will allow him to come."

About a couple of hours afterwards Archdeacon Maclean appeared in a state of great excitement and anxiety. After conversing with me, he at once went to remonstrate with Riel in regard to his intentions, but returned in an hour, having effected nothing. He remained with me a couple of hours and then left, promising to return soon. He returned in the evening about eight o'clock, and told me that he had obtained a postponement of my execution for twelve hours later than the following day at twelve o'clock.

The anxiety of the remainder of the prisoners over my threatened execution was great. Occasionally I had a chance of conversing with some of them as we met in the hall going to and fro. The clanging of the long chains attached to my feet had a most ominous sound as I walked about. I conversed a good deal with my guards, and enlisted their sympathy. They, I believe, were by no

means a party to the murderous designs contemplated by Riel.

The measures taken by Riel were not justified by any act that had been committed by the English settlers, who had shown no disposition to attack him, their actions having been confined to a demonstration to force him to release the prisoners, which he had previously promised to do. The party taken prisoners with me were quietly returning to their homes, without any further designs against him; and the act he was contemplating was for no other purpose than to strike terror to the hearts of the people, and to more firmly fix himself as the autocrat of the country. In this he showed a bloodthirsty spirit, as well as a want of tact, which were repeatedly manifested traits in his character.

That night I slept on the bare floor, without a pillow, covered with my buffalo robe, and with the sentry as my only companion. During the night I was continually disturbed by the sentry, who would come and wake me, go down on his knees and pray and groan. I sent him away repeatedly, but only to return again. He was in great trouble and concern about me, and the next morning, when they unlocked my door, he was found in a state of lunacy. The excitement of being locked up with me had proved too much for him, and his mind was unstrung. I heard afterwards that he was the father of the young man who had shot Sutherland.

Another sentry was placed in the room; a tall man, about six feet two inches in height, who lay down all day in the corner. About three o'clock in the afternoon, I was aroused by a peculiar gurgling noise, which caused me to go over to look at my sentry. I found that he was dead. I alarmed the sergeant of the guard, who once more marched his whole squad into the room, sent for Riel, and an inquest was held, which lasted about an hour. It was found that the sentry had died of apoplexy. The dead man was then carried off, but without placing another sentry over me. In fact, I think the guards had become superstitious, and now refused to be locked up with me, which, I need hardly say, was a decided relief.

In the morning Archdeacon Maclean returned and stated that every exertion was being made to obtain a reversal of my sentence. Mrs. Sutherland, while her poor son lay still unburied, came beseeching for my life, with many others. The autocrat himself paid me a visit about ten o'clock in the morning. Riel entered the room in a tragic way, took out his pocket-handkerchief, walked up and down for a while, pretending to weep, and then went out without having spoken a word. About twelve o'clock he returned and entered into conversation with me. He made me this proposition, that if I could get Dr. Schultz to give himself up, or if I could secure his capture, I should obtain my reprieve. I think he also

included Mr. Mair, for whom he had no affection. I could not help smiling at his solemn proposal, for I did not think Dr. Schultz's sympathy for me would lead him to offer himself up a willing sacrifice. And with regard to capturing him, I knew that by this time he was making the best of his way to a place of greater safety than the settlements now offered. As Riel's scheme for capturing Dr. Schultz or Mr. Mair by this means resulted in nothing, he made no offer to me of freedom.

Anxiety about my fate continued to increase, and Riel was continually visited by people of all kinds, interceding in my behalf. The impression I had created on the guards was favouring me, and Riel sought to grant some pretext for sparing my life, although he showed no signs of abandoning his purpose. Mr. Smith told me afterwards he knew he would have to give an equivalent in asking for my life. Riel allowed this state of affairs to continue all day, and in the evening Archdeacon Maclean administered the sacrament to me, holding out no hope of a reprieve. I wrote a statement, which I gave to him, to the effect that I was about to be foully murdered, without having a trial, and without any reasonable charge being brought against me. About ten o'clock in the evening I was visited by O'Donohue. He came to ask if he could do anything for me. I thanked him, and told him I had settled all my affairs, if Riel was bent on murdering me; but that I should be glad if he

would send me a glass of sherry and a basin of water In this answer, I was determined to give O'Donohue no satisfaction from his visit, which was one of pure curiosity. He retired, and about half-past ten Archdeacon Maclean, who had been all day in the Fort, came in and told me that I had been reprieved for a week, and that Riel had consented to spare my life if Mr. Donald A. Smith would go round and get the English-speaking settlements to elect their representatives and send them once more to meet him in council. This task Mr. Smith willingly undertook, assisted by Archdeacon Maclean, and before the week was out they had held meetings in every parish and obtained the consent of the people to send their representatives. Mr. John MacTavish kindly sent a special message without delay to my friends in Canada to inform them that I was safe.

As soon as Archdeacon Maclean had left, I lay down and went to sleep. I could not have been long asleep when I was suddenly awoke by some one shaking me. I looked up and saw Riel with a lantern. He said, "Major Boulton, I have come to see you. I have come to shake you by the hand, and to make a proposition to you. I perceive that you are a man of ability, that you are a leader. The English people, they have no leader. Will you join my government, and be their leader?" The sudden transition from being under sentence of death to being asked to take a position in Riel's government,

struck me as serio-comic; but I collected my wits and replied, that his proposition was so startling that I could not give an answer at the moment; but if he would release all the prisoners and allow me to go back to the Portage to consult with my friends, I would consider his proposition seriously. He retired, but I heard no more about joining his government. Riel evidently would not forego the personal advantage. the possession of the prisoners gave him. That night the chains were removed from my limbs. The officers of the Hudson's Bay Company asked and obtained permission to supply me with my meals and a bed. The prison discipline was relaxed, and the rest of the prisoners were allowed to have provisions brought them by their friends, which they never neglected, bringing bags of bread and many things that added to their comfort. Riel had no sooner agreed to spare my life than he attempted to capture Dr. Schultz. With that object he took a hundred men and went down through the lower settlement to the Stone Fort, visiting it upon the same evening that Mr. Smith and Archdeacon Maclean reached it. The latter was rudely awakened from his sleep in the middle of the night by having a revolver thrust into his face by Riel, who was searching the rooms; but by this time Dr. Schultz had made his escape. This circumstance shows the determination of Riel to capture some one whom he could threaten.

The prisoners whiled away the weary hours by singing songs and telling stories; and put in the time with as much hilarity as they could pretend to assume. I could only hear them through the thin wooden partition, or when I met them in the hall, where the guards were, and where we were allowed to bring our pemican to stew it on the stove. The monotony was occasionally relieved by the excitement of bringing in fresh prisoners, who were now getting so numerous that two strangers were placed in the room with me. Some were put to menial work, cleaning out the premises about the Fort, which enraged them greatly. The most important prisoner brought in during our imprisonment was Dr. Cowan, the 2nd officer of the Hudson's Bay Company.

We had little opportunity of obtaining news of what was going on outside; but one day excitement was caused by the information, whispered to me by one of the prisoners, that an attempt was to be made that night to effect our release. The plan, I was informed, was to set the premises on fire, and during the excitement we were to make good our escape. Adjoining the house in which we were imprisoned was the magazine, in which was stored several tons of gunpowder. I was alarmed lest the plot should miscarry, or that the magazine would be blown up and with it all of my friends, so I did not sleep that night in my anxiety. However, nothing was attempted.

Things continued in the same monotonous round for about a fortnight, until one day I heard a racket in the guard-room, and recognized Scott's voice. I heard him say, "I want my pocket-book which you have taken from me." Considerable scuffling ensued, and the door of the room next to me was opened, and Scott was placed inside. I took an early opportunity to go out to ascertain what had been going on; and was told that two men—W. L. Scott, who had been appointed as one of the delegates, and a man, named Dan Shea—had visited the prisoners in the room where Scott was, to solicit the suffrage of the prisoners who had come from Portage la Prairie. Shea wanted them to vote for him and asked them to use their influence with their friends at the Portage, to secure his election, and in consideration of this he promised to get their release. Scott had said, "Don't have anything to do with these men, boys." Whereupon Dan Shea said, "I will see whether you'll interfere with me." And they retired from the room. The delegates had not yet been elected to form the council summoned by the provisional government, which had been created at the convention on the 10th February, and in consequence of the visit to the English-speaking settlements, Mr. Smith and Archdeacon Maclean, had agreed to send representatives in order to save my life and maintain the peace of the country. Riel was now seeking to obtain as many personal supporters among the English-speaking

community as he could, and it was with that view he sent Dan Shea to solicit the suffrages of the prisoners resident at Portage La Prairie. It was this effort on Riel's part that caused Scott to warn the prisoners not to vote for him, and which, consequently, enraged Riel against him. Later on, Scott asked leave to go outside, and was refused by the guards, which led to an altercation. Riel and O'Donogue visited the prison once or twice that afternoon and evening, and used violent language towards Scott. A court-martial was convened to try Scott, composed of Lepine, as president, and some of the guards as members, upon whom Riel no doubt wished, with mock show of legality, to throw the responsibility of taking Scott's life. Feeling anxious about what was going on, I asked the guard's permission to go into Scott's room to see him, and questioned him as to what had taken place. I found that similar questions had been put to him as had been put to me, and the same mode of passing sentence had been passed upon him as was passed upon me. I told Scott to be very careful what he said, as I felt sure that Riel meant mischief and would take his life if he could. I also told him that my life had been spared only in consequence of the exertions that had been made on my behalf. He had sent for the Rev. Mr. Young to come and see him, who arrived some time during the night. Riel had got the opportunity he now wanted, which was to commit his people to an act of vio-

lence. Heretofore, there had been no violence or resistance to his wrong doings, but Scott, he thought, had now given sufficient provocation for him to work upon his guards. He represented to his people that Scott was a dangerous man, and if he ever got at large he would take his revenge. So he worked up their feelings to the pitch he desired; at least that is the idea we formed at the time. Riel came in to my room about 11 o'clock on the morning of Scott's death. I spoke to him and said, "Don't you think you are doing a most imprudent act for your own safety in shooting Scott; don't you know enough about history to realize that England has never yet left the most remote region unpenetrated, to punish those who take the life of a British subject?" The only answer I got was, "I did not come here to talk to you about that," and he made some passing remark and went away. That was the most effectual appeal that I could think of, to impress upon him the responsibility of the horrible proceedings he contemplated. It was blood that Riel wanted, for the purpose of making the people respect him, and he did not propose to let this opportunity slip. According to Mr. Donald A. Smith's report, at the winding up of the interview, when he went to intercede for Scott's life, Riel said, "I have done three good things since I have commenced; I have spared Boulton's life at your instance, I pardoned Gaddy, and now I shall shoot Scott." A few minutes before the execution took place the Rev. Mr. Young came

to see Scott for the last time. It now became apparent that in a short time the poor fellow was to be hurled into eternity. Mr. Young, hitherto, had so little realized the task before him, and was so unprepared for it, that he came into my room and borrowed my Bible, which had been left with me by Archdeacon Maclean, returning to Scott's room, where he spent the remainder of the time with him.

About 12 o'clock we heard preparations being made by the guards, and a few minutes afterwards my door opened and Scott came in and said "Good-bye, Major." He was followed by about twenty guards, and was allowed to go to each room and say, "Good-bye, boys!" He was then marched down the stairs, between the guards, with fixed bayonets, his hands tied behind his back, and a white rag tied over his head and hanging down behind ready to throw over his face when the fatal shots were to be fired. We watched his departure and listened to the receding footsteps, and for fifteen minutes a dead silence pervaded the building. Presently we heard the fatal shots fired from beneath the walls of the Fort. A few minutes afterwards, the Rev. Mr. Young returned to our prison and gave me back my Bible, and his eyes blinded with tears, told me what had happened. Loud and deep were the murmurs of the remaining prisoners. In the evening the servant of the Hudson's Bay Company who brought me my meals gave me an account of the

execution, and at the same time told me that Scott had been put into one of the bastions of the Fort, and that he had just been heard to cry out: "My God! put an end to me!" He had lain there for some hours unconscious, and must have come to his senses and called out. How he was finally despatched has never been settled, but in corroboration of the foul and brutal manner in which he was treated, I give the testimony of John Bruce, a French half-breed, who was the first president of Riel's provisional government. Bruce had been appointed by Riel as president, and no doubt accepted the position at the commencement of the outbreak, hoping by constitutional means to obtain a recognition of the rights of the population which existed in the country previous to the transfer. Bruce, however, disappeared from among the active workers when Riel resorted to extreme measures. Bruce says:—

"Six soldiers had been chosen to shoot Scott. I have here again to write the name of a man whose behaviour in that circumstance reflects on him the greatest honour. Augustin Parisien, one of the six soldiers, declared openly that he would not shoot at Scott; in fact, he took off the cap from his gun before the word of command 'present' was given. Of the five balls remaining, only two hit the poor victim, one on the left shoulder, and the other in the upper part of the chest above the heart. Had the other soldiers missed the mark undesignedly, or had they intentionally aimed away from Riel's victim, it is not known. However that may be, as the two wounds were not sufficient to cause death, at least sudden

death, a man, named Guillemette, stepped forward and discharged the contents of a pistol close to Scott's head while he was lying on the ground. This ball, however, took a wrong direction. It penetrated the upper part of the left cheek and came out somewhere about the cartilage of the nose. Scott was still not dead, but that did not prevent his butchers from placing him, alive and still speaking, in a kind of coffin made of four rough boards. It was nailed and plated in the south-eastern bastion, and an armed soldier was placed at the door. This would seem like a story made at one's ease, if there were not several credible witnesses who, between the hours of five and six in the evening, heard the unfortunate Scott speaking from under the lid of his coffin, and it was known that he had been shot at half-past twelve. What a long and horrible agony, and what ferocious cruelty was this on the part of his butchers! The words heard and understood by the French Metis were only these: 'My God! My God!' Some English Metis, and those understanding English, heard distinctly these words: 'For God's sake take me out of here or kill me.' Towards 11 o'clock—that is, after ten and a half hours of frightful agony—a person, whose name I shall withhold for the present, went into the bastion, and, according to some, gave him the finishing stroke with a butcher's knife, with a pistol, according to others. After having inflicted the last blow on poor Scott, that person said, as he was coming back from the bastion: 'He is dead this time!' The corpse was left for a few days in the south-eastern bastion, being guarded by the soldiers, relieving each other in turn."

In addition, I append an extract from a letter of the Rev. Mr. Young to Scott's brother, Mr. Hugh Scott, written the day after the murder:—

"Let me then express my deep sympathy for you and your bereaved family in this sore trouble. As you pro-

bably know already, your brother was taken prisoner by Mr. Riel in December last, and made his escape after many weeks' imprisonment, but joining another company of volunteers he was again captured, with forty-seven others. The day before yesterday he was singled out and tried for these offences, as well as for 'insulting Mr. Riel and the guards by something he said'—which he positively denied—and was sentenced to be shot at noon *next day*. I was sent for as a minister who had visited the prisoners regularly, and was known by your brother. During the evening I stayed with him, giving instructions and exhortations, and engaging frequently in prayer. He was deeply penitent and earnestly prayerful before God. Next morning I went again and begged personally of Mr. Riel to reprieve your brother, and got Commissioner Smith to do the same. We urged that one day more should be given him to prepare. But, alas! all in vain. I was with him to the end. He prayed frequently, and said it was dreadful to put him to death; but expressed hope of salvation. He was led out a few feet from the walls of Fort Garry, where again he knelt in the snow and prayed, remaining on his knees until the fatal shots were fired. I have begged the body, which Riel intended to bury in the Fort, and I think, through others helping, that we shall get it, when we intend burying it at the Presbyterian churchyard, five miles below this."

That same afternoon some of the prisoners saw preparations for the grave being made, and the coffin made ready. The Rev. Mr. Young and the Bishop of Rupert's Land, both made a request for the body, but were refused, lest the additional damning evidence of the murdered man should stand against the perpetrators of the bloody tragedy. It was rumoured in the Fort that his body had been buried, but had been exhumed, sewed up in

canvas, weighted with cannon balls and sunk beneath the ice at the junction of the Seine with the Red River, near by.

Scott, it ought to be said, was not taken prisoner with arms in his hands. On the first occasion, before the prisoners were captured in Dr. Schultz's house, he had gone boldly down to the Fort to ask Riel to give safe conduct to the ladies and children who were in danger there, and Riel's only answer to his peaceful mission was to thrust him into prison. Nor on the second occasion was he armed; so this murder has no extenuation, and for cold bloodedness and deliberate butchery poor Scott's fate has scarcely a parallel.

Riel had now committed his people to a deed which could not be recalled; and no doubt those who were implicated in it, when they came to realize what had been done, repented of the murderous act. On the following day Riel singled out another man, Murdoch Macleod, from among the prisoners, and put him in chains. We all dreaded that another life would be taken. From my knowledge of Riel at this time, I feared this would have happened; but his people were not prepared to go any further, so no sentence was passed upon him. But, during the remainder of his imprisonment, Murdoch continued to be shackled, and to have indignities heaped upon him.

I had forgotten to mention an interesting reminis-

cence which should not be overlooked, namely, the visit to Winnipeg, in January, of Mr. John Ross Robertson, of the Toronto *Telegram*, and Mr. Cunningham, of the Toronto *Globe*. They came in search of news, having travelled over the prairie, in the winter time, from St. Paul, and were the only two correspondents who ventured up to the scene of the troubles. I do not know if their enterprise rewarded them; but they were detained by Riel for two days in Fort Garry, and were then allowed to return. Riel at this time kept the strictest censorship over the local press and the mail bags, so that no information could get out not in accord with his plans.

CHAPTER VII.

THE OVERTURES FOR PEACE.

A FEW days after this tragic event, there were rumours of Archbishop Taché's proposed visit. The Canadian Government, in their anxiety to use every means to quiet disturbance, and hearing that Archbishop Taché would return from Rome to meet the emergencies, telegraphed for him, and he arrived in Ottawa in the beginning of February.

After conferring with the Government, he was authorized to assure his people, upon the most important points, of the good intentions of the Government, and also to inform the leaders that if the Company's government was restored there would be a general amnesty. At the time this conference was going on between the Dominion Government and the Archbishop, neither of the two sad events, the murder of Scott and the shooting of young Sutherland, had occurred. Up to that time Riel and his followers had only committed depredations, unlawfully detained prisoners, and resisted authority. They had committed no bloodshed. But in the interval between Archbishop Taché's leaving Ottawa and his arrival in

Winnipeg, or rather at St. Boniface, the tragedies which so stirred the hearts of the Canadian people had taken place. The journey between Ottawa and St. Boniface, at this period, was a long and tedious one. As soon as I heard of the arrival of the Archbishop, I felt that a change would soon take place in the condition of affairs, as the prelate possessed great influence over his people, was greatly respected by all who knew him, and possessed sufficient astuteness to realize the danger his people incurred by continuing to resist lawful authority. I have forgotten the precise date of the Archbishop's arrival; but, no doubt, on his coming lengthened negotiations took place between him and Riel, and he must have experienced much difficulty in compelling the usurper, to abandon the desperate attitude he had assumed.

Riel had made his first attempts at resistance with the countenance and connivance of many of the priests, who always desired the temporal as well as the spiritual welfare of their people. Up to a certain point, he used them to further his designs; but as soon as he had obtained the prestige and power which his continued successes gave him, his vanity and personal ambition led him to cast off the authority of his spiritual advisers, and he would now brook little interference on their part. Such was the opinion I formed at the time of the murder of Scott, and I felt that the influence of the clergy on his

behalf, if it was used, would have little avail; for Riel was bloodthirsty and determined to make his personal power felt by the most extreme measures. To show his mood at this time, he even put a guard on the Archbishop's palace, and tried to prevent him from communicating with Mr. McTavish or with Mr. Smith.

When Archbishop Taché arrived, he found Riel in this position of power, with a considerable personal following within the walls of the Fort to assist him in sustaining it. As the actions of the Archbishop at this period brought about political results which created a great deal of excitement and controversy, and placed the Government in a difficult position, it is necessary to point out, so far as we could judge, how these events were brought about. As I said before, the Archbishop had received authority from the Governor-General to promise a general amnesty to his people, in order to re-establish, as far as possible, law and order in the settlement. Added to that, he had a strong personal sympathy for Riel, and this, no doubt, influenced his actions considerably. However, he was dismayed at the turn affairs had taken, by the second incarceration of the prisoners, and by the murder of Scott, and he was, doubtless, embarrassed as to the course he should pursue. As there was no telegraph, and no means of communication, short of a journey over the four hundred and fifty miles of snow-clad prairie to St. Paul, he had to use his best judgment under the circum-

stances, and, of course, had to deal with Riel, who held full control of the situation and was not prepared to allow any temporal interference on the Archbishop's part.

Riel held the prisoners as a constant menace to the peace and safety of the settlement, and Archbishop Taché, wishing to obtain their release and restore order, had to choose between leaving the prisoners where they were or to include Riel in the amnesty which he had been empowered to grant. There is no doubt he must have had some difficulty in convincing Riel of the prudence of his accepting the amnesty, though such was not contemplated by the Dominion Government, who were not aware of the altered aspect of affairs since the dark deed had been committed. While Archbishop Taché has been condemned for using the authority conferred upon him, and for extending the amnesty to Riel, he no doubt felt himself justified, under the grave circumstances which threatened the country, to stretch the authority he possessed.

During all this time Mr. Donald Smith had been diligently prosecuting the practical object of his mission, to bring the people into direct communication with the Dominion Government through the delegates that had been appointed, and was anxious to get them off. He, no doubt, felt it of importance that there should be an evidence of arms being laid down to insure a proper reception for them, though he himself never seems to have consented to an amnesty in any way. On the 16th

of March we were made aware of the result of Archbishop Taché's interference by being told that on the following day we were to be released, upon taking an oath that we would not again take up arms in opposition to the provisional government. I advised the prisoners, one and all, not to hesitate to take this oath, thus illegally enforced, before granting our release. The oath was administered to each by Lepine. One half of the prisoners were released one day and the other half on the following day. I remained in the Fort receiving the hospitality of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company until I saw that all the prisoners had been released. Unfortunately, for some reason, Riel still retained Murdoch Macleod, who had been confined with the chains on all this time, and I could not leave the Fort until his release was guaranteed.

With the release of the prisoners ended the exciting part of the insurrection organized by Riel. The winter passed over without greater disaster than the death of Senator Sutherland's son, the murder of poor Scott, and the death of the French half-breed, Parisien. Had hostilities been provoked, or the first shot in anger fired, the country in its isolated position would probably have been handed over to a scene of rapine, murder and pillage, fearful to contemplate, through the excitement of the Indian population, whose savage nature cannot be controlled when the opportunity for warfare pre-

sents itself. But, fortunately for Canada and fortunately for the Hudson's Bay Company, the critical period passed, and the task of Sir Garnet Wolseley, upon whose shoulders afterwards fell the duty of enforcing law and order in this fair heritage of the British Crown, enabled him to march in peacefully and hand over the reins of government to the civil authorities, now constituted by Act of Parliament. To the Bishop of Rupert's Land, Judge Black, Mr. Donald A. Smith, Archdeacon McLean, and the Rev. Mr. Young, is chiefly due the salvation of the settlement through the winter by the prudence of their policy and the influence of their counsels. There were so many inflammable elements and such a strong feeling against Riel's tyranny, that there was constant danger of another uprising, and only great tact and prudence prevented this further calamity.

In two days I left my prison walls for the English settlements, and upon the advice of friends I at once took my departure for Canada, for the purpose of giving such information to the Government as they might desire. I made the journey across the prairies on sleds, with Judge Black, who was on his way to Ottawa, on the delegation commissioned to confer with the Government. On reaching Ontario, I found the greatest excitement prevailing over the news of Scott's murder, which had sent a thrill of horror through the whole of Upper Canada. I found that Dr. Schultz had just arrived, having performed the

marvellous task of marching on snowshoes through a forest country, from the Lower Fort to Duluth, a distance of about 500 miles, under the guidance of a faithful half-breed, named Monkman. In the late rebellion a son of the latter was convicted of supporting Riel, and apparently had not inherited the loyal instincts of his brave father. The doctor was also accompanied by William Drever. Dr. Schultz's march indicates the great powers of endurance he at that time possessed; for he passed through an immense region, poorly supplied with provisions, through deep snow, in continual danger of losing his way, and with the knowledge that he might be pursued. But he arrived in safety, to be a hero among his countrymen.

On the arrival at Ottawa of Father Richot and Alfred Scott, the other two delegates nominated by the Convention, they were at once arrested for complicity in the murder of Scott, whose brother was in Ottawa, and who, with the friends of the murdered man, secured their arrest. They were, however, released for want of direct evidence to implicate them. After their release they assumed the official capacity in which they had come to the country, as delegates to arrange the terms by which the interests of their country were to be protected. These negotiations resulted in a Bill being passed by Parliament, creating the Province of Manitoba, the boundary of which was at the time designedly limited by the Act. The

half-breeds gained substantial advantages in a grant of one million four hundred thousand acres, to be set apart in reserve for them and all the children belonging to them, at the date of the transfer. On computation this was found to be two hundred and forty acres for each child, and one hundred and sixty acres for each head of a family, besides a patent for the homes they occupied.

The new province had a constitution granted it, giving it self-government, based upon the system which prevailed elsewhere in Canada, and giving it representatives in both Houses of Parliament, as well as control over its local affairs.

Although the results gained for the half-breeds by Riel's insurrection appear to be advantageous, yet the half-breeds put very little value on the two hundred and forty acres of scrip that had been issued to each. This land-grant they almost immediately sold for a song, ranging from fifteen dollars upwards. Thus nearly the whole of the one million four hundred thousand acres became the property of non-residents, who in consequence of the cheap rate at which they acquired the property could allow it to remain to accumulate in value with the development of the country. This has been very prejudicial to the interests of that portion of Manitoba which it was designed to benefit; for at Winnipeg, on entering the gateway of the country, the stranger is met on all sides by vast unoccupied tracts of valuable lands

which are not only unproductive, but handicap the industry of the population, and retard the progress of the provincial capital. In some respects, however, the Government were wise in yielding to the pressure that was brought to bear upon them; for agitation would have been kept up by interested parties to secure the local advantage of self-government.

Upon the structure which the Dominion Act created has been built up the now magnificent Province of Manitoba, which possesses excellent laws, and is yearly adding to the comfort and prosperity of its inhabitants. Since the founding of the province it has been enlarged, at the solicitation of the people, and readily granted by the Dominion Government. Curiously enough, the western bounds of the province were fixed at the twenty-ninth range, instead of being continued a few miles farther, to the one hundred and second meridian, where a new system of surveys again commences from another meridian line. It will no doubt yet be found convenient, as well as advantageous, for the people in this narrow strip to have themselves included in the boundaries of the province, which will then make it coterminous with the old district of Assiniboia, formerly under the rule of the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Although the delegates appointed by the provisional government had been received at Ottawa, and their

terms acceded to, yet the Government were not prepared to take over the country from the Hudson's Bay Company, unless an armed force was sent to support its authority. Otherwise there was nothing to prevent Riel from continuing to exercise the authority he had usurped. Negotiations were therefore opened by the Dominion Government with the view of sending an armed force into the country, which the English Government sanctioned, Canada to pay three-fourths of the cost. But before the English Government would allow the troops to start it was required of Canada that the rights and privileges of the existing population should be respected, and the English Government were to be the judges in case an agreement was not arrived at. The force was to consist of British Regulars and Canadian Militia, the whole to be put under the command of Colonel (now Lord) Wolseley; and he at once set about making preparations for the expedition.

In the midst of the preparations I returned to Toronto, and was anxious to have an opportunity of joining the force, but I found that the Dominion Government had excluded from its ranks all those who had been in any way mixed up with the troubles during the previous winter, which was to me a great disappointment. The expedition was to be one of peace, for the purpose solely of re-establishing law and order. Naturally, however, its departure for the North-West created a great deal of

excitement throughout Canada, whose people were about entering upon their new possessions amidst military preparations, which, however, had the beneficial effect of bringing the country more prominently before the eyes of the world.

Sir Garnet Wolseley selected the route for his expedition by way of the chain of lakes and rivers which had been so frequently used during early explorations, as well as by the traders of the North-West Company. Colonel Crofton, on one occasion, took his troops to the Red River by this route, and Lord Selkirk, in his struggles with the North-West Company, had also brought troops over it. The history of this expedition is an exceedingly interesting one.

The expedition was admirably managed throughout, not a single life being lost. It forms the first of a series of exploits under the leadership of Colonel Wolseley, which have reflected much credit on his gallantry and administrative ability. He is affectionately regarded and held in high esteem by Canadians, among whom he long resided, and who watch his career with the deepest interest and with pride in his success.

Colonel Wolseley arrived at Fort Garry on the 24th day of August, 1870, and Riel only gave up the reins of power a few moments before his arrival, preferring not to remain to render an account of his short but iniquitous reign.

The rule of the Hudson's Bay Company, in the absence of any other constituted civil authority, was at once reinstated by Sir Garnet Wolseley, in the person of Mr. Donald A. Smith, the Chief Commissioner, who played so important a part throughout the troubles. He in turn, a few days after, handed the country over to the Hon. Adams Archibald, who had been appointed Lieut.-Governor in the place of the Hon. Wm. Macdougall, and who arrived on the 2nd of September. The Queen's proclamation was read, and all the legal requirements were complied with to make the old Hudson's Bay Territory part and parcel of the Dominion, and a new era commenced in the development of the reign. Colonel Wolseley, without delay, despatched his regular soldiers on their return journey to Quebec, leaving the two battalions of Canadian Militia, under Colonels Jarvis and Cassault, to preserve law and order, and protect the settlement.

On Sir Garnet Wolseley's arrival, Riel quietly slipped across the river, where he was sheltered by his friends. A warrant for his arrest was procured by private individuals, and he withdrew from the country and took up his residence at St. Joe, an American village on the boundary line. The feeling was very strong against him; but, on the other hand, his own people applauded the success of his winter's work, and the settlement was still in constant danger from the excited population.

Lieut.-Governor Archibald and his successor, Lieut.-

Governor Morris, had a most difficult task to perform during their terms of office. They were isolated from Ottawa, the means of communication with which were still slow. They had an excited population to deal with, that took totally different views of the events which led to the acquisition of the North-West Territory by Canada. By their prudence, firmness and moderation, however, they avoided very serious difficulties, which might have befallen the country. Individuals are not apt at all times to weigh their words or consider their actions in places of trust, or to feel their responsibility in the administrative affairs of a nation. It is this that frequently leads to difficulties, which often get beyond the control of the civil authorities.

The most delicate subject the Government had to deal with during this period was the question of a general amnesty. When Archbishop Taché arrived in March he took upon himself the responsibility of promising a full and complete amnesty on behalf of the Governor-General; and he and Father Richot pressed with the utmost vigour, by correspondence and by interviews, the fulfilment of this promise. Archbishop Taché claimed that the condition of the country warranted his making this promise of an amnesty, and having once made it, he would be considered to have deceived the people did he not make every effort to keep his word.

The position the Government assumed was that the

country, not having been a part of Canada at the time of the troubles, the amnesty question was one for the Imperial authorities alone to deal with. A document that bears upon that question is worthy of insertion here, namely, an Order-in-Council, of the 4th June, 1873, which states the then position of affairs, previous to which a lengthened correspondence had taken place between Archbishop Taché and the Government. I append copy of this report to His Excellency the Governor-General, dated 4th June, 1873:—

"The Committee of the Privy Council beg to submit to your Excellency, that having their attention called to the desire expressed by the Legislature of Manitoba, and by many of Her Majesty's subjects residing in that province, that an amnesty should be granted by Her Majesty to those concerned in the disturbances which occurred in the North-West Territories in 1869 and 1870, and the subject having been pressed upon the Government of Canada, whose intervention has been asked, the Committee beg leave to report that these unfortunate occurrences took place before the North-West Territory was acquired by the Dominion, and therefore before the Government of Canada had any control over the country or authority in the administration of its affairs. The Committee very respectfully submit that, in their opinion, although the right of extending the clemency of the Crown in criminal cases is amongst the high functions entrusted to Your Excellency, the exercise of that power is limited by the royal instructions to the cases of individual criminals after conviction, and does not confer upon you the power of granting a general amnesty or special pardon before trial. No trials or convictions have yet been had against any one concerned in the troubles referred to, and

the Committee of the Privy Council believe that the power to grant the amnesty asked for by the Legislature of Manitoba rests only with Her Majesty.

"The Legislature of Manitoba having arrived at the conclusion that the time has come when the subject may be dealt with, and having conveyed their opinion in that sense to the Government of the Dominion, the Committee of the Privy Council respectfully request that Your Excellency will be pleased to bring the matter before Her Majesty's Government, in order that such course may be taken as may be thought consistent with the interests of justice and best for the quiet of the country."

In the autumn of 1870, the Fenians took advantage of the excited state of the country to make a raid, at the instigation of O'Donohue and others, who were intriguing against its peace. "General" O'Neil managed to find his way to the borders with an armed force, invaded the territory, and took possession of the Hudson's Bay post at Pembina. O'Neil, however, was promptly followed by the American troops and compelled to return. Finding that the American authorities were firm in their desire to preserve international amity, he abandoned the enterprise. In the meantime the settlement was thrown into great excitement and alarm, and Governor Archibald issued a proclamation asking for volunteers to serve against the Fenians. Shortly after the issue of this proclamation he received a letter from Riel, Lepine, and Perenteau, telling him that they had organized several companies of half-breeds for service against the Fenians, and containing assurances of loyalty. The Governor went over to St.

Boniface to inspect these volunteers, and publicly thanked them for their services, shaking hands with them as they marched by, Reil and Lepine being present. In his communication to Sir John Macdonald on the subject, the Governor says in reference to this act:—

"If the Dominion has at this moment a province to defend and not one to conquer, they owe it to the policy of forbearance. If I had driven the French half-breeds into the hands of the enemy, O'Donohue would have been joined by all the population between the Assiniboine and the frontier; Fort Garry would have passed into the hands of an armed mob, and the English settlers to the north of the Assiniboine would have suffered horrors which makes me shudder to contemplate."

The Government felt, however, that Riel was playing a double game. He continued to be a menace to the peace of the settlement, and realizing the difficulties of protecting the country, should its peace be broken, Sir John Macdonald arranged with Archbishop Taché to get Riel to leave the territory. To effect this the Government sent Archbishop Taché $1,000 to pay Riel's expenses, but this sum was not considered sufficient, and on Governor Archibald's guaranteeing to repay the amount, Mr. Donald A. Smith, then Chief Commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company, advanced $3,000 more to Archbishop Taché, which was some time after repaid by the Dominion Government.

In September, 1872, Riel was nominated to the House of Commons for Provencher, but he declined the nomina-

tion in favour of Sir George Cartier. In 1873, in consequence of Sir George Cartier's death, Riel was elected by acclamation for the same constituency, and in the election of 1874 he was again returned. Some time in March of that year, Riel signed the roll in the clerk's room of the House of Commons at Ottawa, without any one being aware that he was in the capital. The question was brought up in Parliament, and by a vote of 124 to 68, Riel was expelled from the House, but was again returned by his constituents. In October, 1874, Lepine was tried for the murder of Scott, convicted and sentenced to death, while a warrant of outlawry was issued against Riel by the Court of Queen's Bench of Manitoba. Lord Dufferin sent a despatch to Earl Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies, reviewing at length the circumstances which were urged as entitling Riel and Lepine to clemency, placing especial stress upon Lieut.-Governor Archibald's acceptance of their services on the occasion of the threatened Fenian invasion, and the public expression of confidence and thanks tendered them by the representative of the Crown in Manitoba. In reference to the application for a commutation of Lepine's sentence, he said:—"This commutation, when the proper time arrives, I propose to order on my own responsibility, under the powers accorded me by my instruments." In January, 1875, Earl Carnarvon stated that in Lepine's case, neither amnesty nor entire pardon was possible, but that his sentence

should be commuted; that Riel should have similar punishment, and that both should be politically disqualified. The next day Lepine's sentence was commuted to two years' imprisonment, and he was deprived of his political rights. On the 12th February an amnesty was granted, to Riel and Lepine, on condition of five years' banishment and forfeiture of political rights. Lepine, however, having already served a portion of his sentence, preferred to complete his term in lieu of banishment.

Another duty that fell to the lot of Lieut.-Governors Archibald and Morris, was the extinction of the Indian title by treaty. Governor Archibald, with the assistance of Indian Commissioners, negotiated the Stone Fort and Manitoba Post treaties, or treaties numbers one and two. The Hon. Mr. Morris negotiated treaties numbers three, four, five and six respectively, called the North-West Angle treaty, the Qu'Appelle treaty, the Winnipeg treaty, the treaties at Forts Carleton and Pitt. The Blackfoot treaty, number seven, was negotiated by Lieut.-Governor Laird, when Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Territory.

In 1875 a circumstance occurred which might have resulted in difficulty for the country, had it not been for the prompt action of Lieutenant-Governor Morris. He received information that Gabriel Dumont had organized a provisional government in the Batoche district, where a new settlement had the previous year been started. It

was ostensibly established for the purpose of governing the half-breeds, on the principle that used to prevail in their hunting expeditions. This act Governor Morris realized would excite the Indians. General Selby Smyth, with two officers, had been visiting him in Winnipeg, on his way across the continent to British Columbia, and had already left for Fort Pelly to visit the Mounted Police stationed there, when this information was received. He had been gone two days; but Mr. Morris despatched Captain Cotton after him to advise him of the circumstance, and requesting him to take a detachment of Mounted Police and visit the disaffected region. At the same time Mr. Morris availed himself of the services of the Rev. Mr. Macdougall, who was then in Winnipeg, and who had the misfortune afterwards of being frozen to death, having lost his way in a blizzard, far away from any settlement. He entrusted Mr. Macdougall with a despatch to the Indians, signed and sealed with his official authority as Governor of the North-West Territory, and despatched him with all haste to the western tribes, counselling them to be quiet, and promising to visit them the following year, which he faithfully did. General Smyth took a detachment of fifty Mounted Police from Fort Pelly and visited Batoche, and had an interview with Gabriel Dumont, who agreed to abandon his enterprise. Having done this, the Mounted Police were sent back, and General Selby Smyth continued on his way

across the continent. This, among many other similar events in the history of the North-West Territory during the last fifteen years, shows the disturbing element that existed among the half-breeds and Indians, and the facile material Riel found ready to work upon to enable him to carry out his schemes.

Riel, being banished the country, took up his residence for a time at St. Joe, and in 1878 went to Sun River, Montana. There he taught in an industrial school, where he remained until waited upon by the delegates from the Saskatchewan. In Montana he seems to have illegally mixed himself up in the politics of the country, according to the newspaper accounts, which occasionally came to hand. There, at any rate, the delegates found him, and, as we shall see, induced him to return to the territories and again bring trouble upon the country.

The country now settled down to peaceful pursuits, and a gradual stream of immigration came in, penetrating everywhere, in advance of surveys, as fancy dictated. The province of Manitoba organized its governmental machinery, and laid the foundation of the laws of the country, under the inspiration of the native population, which was, however, gradually absorbed in the new elements that so rapidly came into the territory. It is worthy of remark here, and to the credit of the excellent educational institutions established under the Hudson's Bay Company rule, that a native of the country, the Hon.

Mr. Norquay, has for many years occupied the highest position in its political life.

The population, being scattered far and wide over the country, the Government found it necessary to organize a Mounted Police force, to institute legal machinery in the scattered districts, and to throw over the whole country its protecting arm. The force was temporarily organized by Col. Osborne Smith, then Deputy Adjutant-General. It was afterwards commanded by Col. French, now commandant of the militia of one of the Australian colonies (brother of Captain French who was killed in the capture of Batoche). Subsequently it was commanded by Col. McLeod, now Stipendiary Magistrate of the North-West, and by Col. Irvine, who is its present head. The force was at first composed of three hundred men; afterwards it was increased to five hundred; and, in consequence of the late troubles, has again been increased to one thousand strong.

Having now attempted to supply a narrative of the old rebellion, I shall endeavour to give an account of the present one, which, unfortunately, was far more disastrous in its effects upon the lives and property of the people. Happily, in the new outbreak, the Government was enabled to assert the power and dignity of the country; and in this it was in no small degree aided by the means of communication afforded by the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

I conclude the narrative of these events with an extract from the General Orders of the Red River Expeditionary Force, and with a list of the officers of the Canadian Militia who took part in the expedition:—

"*To the Soldiers of the Militia Regiments of the Red River Expeditionary Force:—*

"In saying 'good-bye' I beg that each and all of you will accept my grateful recognition of your valuable services, and my best thanks for the zeal you have displayed in carrying out my orders.

"I congratulate you upon the success of our expedition, which has secured to this country a peaceable solution of its late troubles. The credit of this success is due to the gallant soldiers I had at my back; upon you fell the labour of carrying boats and heavy loads, a labour in which officers and men vied with each other as to who should do the most. Nothing but that 'pluck' for which British soldiers, whether born in the colonies or in the mother country, are celebrated, could have carried you so successfully through the arduous advance upon this place.

"From Prince Arthur's Landing to Fort Garry is over 600 miles through a wilderness of forest and water, where no supplies of any description are obtainable. You had to carry on your backs a vast amount of supplies over no less than forty-seven portages, making a total distance of seven miles, a feat unparalleled in our military annals. You have descended a great river esteemed so dangerous from its rapids, falls and whirlpools that none but experienced voyageurs attempt its navigation. Your cheerful obedience to orders has enabled you, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to accomplish your task without any accident.

"Although the banditti who had been oppressing this people fled at your approach without giving you an

opportunity of proving how men capable of such labour could fight, you have deserved as well of your country as if you had won a battle.

"Some evil-designing men have endeavoured to make a section of this people believe that they have much to dread at your hands. I beg of you to give them the lie to such a foul aspersion upon your character as Canadian soldiers by continuing to comport yourselves as you have hitherto done.

"I desire to warn you especially against mixing yourself up in party affairs here: to be present at any political meeting, or to join in any political procession, is strictly against Her Majesty's Regulations—a fact which I am sure you have only to know to be guided by.

"I can say without flattery, that although I have served with many armies in the field I have never been associated with a better set of men. You have much yet to learn of your profession, but you have only to attend as carefully to the orders of the officer to whose command I now hand you over as you have to mine to become shortly a force second to none in Her Majesty's service.

"My best thanks are due especially to Lieut.-Colonels Jarvis and Cassault for the punctuality with which they have executed their orders.

"I bid you all good-bye with no feigned regret; I shall ever look back with pleasure and pride to having commanded you, and, although separated from you by thousands of miles I shall never cease to take an earnest interest in your welfare.

"(Signed) G. J. WOLSELEY,
"Commanding Red River Expeditionary Force.

"Fort Garry, Sept. 9, 1870."

MILITIA GENERAL ORDERS.

HEADQUARTERS, OTTAWA,
12th May, 1870.

GENERAL ORDERS (17).

No. 1.—ACTIVE MILITIA.

The formation to date from 1st instant of two battalions of riflemen from existing corps of active militia for service in the "North-West" is hereby authorized to be styled respectively, the First (or Ontario) Battalion of Riflemen and the Second (or Quebec) Battalion of Riflemen, and the appointments thereto are as follows, viz.:—

1st (or Ontario) Battalion of Riflemen.

To be Lieutenant-Colonel:
Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Peters Jarvis.

To be Major:
Major Griffiths Wainewright.

To be Captains:
Major Thomas Scott,
Major Thomas Macklem,
Major William Macauley Herchmer,
Captain William Smith,
Captain Alexander R Macdonald,
Captain and Adjutant Henry Cooke,
Captain Daniel Hunter McMillan.

To be Lieutenants:
Captain and Adjutant Donald A. Macdonald,
Captain David M. Walker,
Captain and Adjutant William N. Kennedy,
Captain Andrew McBride,
Captain and Adjutant William J. McMurtry,
Captain Samuel Bruce Harman,
Lieutenant James Benson.

To be Ensigns:
Captain and Adjutant A. J. L. Peebles,
Lieutenant Stewart Mulvey,
Lieutenant Josiah Jones Bell,
Lieutenant Samuel Hamilton,
Lieutenant John Biggar,
Lieutenant William Hill Nash.
Ensign Hugh John Macdonald.

To be Paymaster:
Captain J. F. B. Morrice.

To be Adjutant, with the rank of Captain:
Captain William James Baker Parsons.

To be Quarter-Master:
Quarter-Master Edward Armstrong.

To be Surgeon:
Surgeon Alfred Codd, M.D.

2nd (or Quebec) Battalion of Riflemen.

To be Lieutenant-Colonel:
Lieutenant-Colonel Louis Adolphe Cassault.

To be Major:
Major Acheson G. Irvine.

To be Captains:
Lieutenant-Colonel L. C. A. L. de Bellefeuille.
Major Allan Macdonald,
Major Jacques Labranche,
Captain Samuel Macdonald,
Captain Jean Baptiste Amyot,
Captain John Fraser,
Captain William John Barrett.

To be Lieutenants:
Captain Josephus W. Vaughan,
Captain John Price Fletcher,
Captain Edward T. H. F. Patterson,

Captain Maurice E. B. Duchesnay,
Captain Henri Bouthillier,
Captain Leonidas de Salaberry,
Lieutenant Oscar Prevost.

To be Ensigns:
Captain Ed. S. Bernard,
Captain John Allan,
Lieutenant George Simard,
Lieutenant Gabriel Louis Des George,
Ensign Alphonse de Montenach Henri D'Eschambault,
Ensign William Wilmount Ross,
Ensign Alphonse Tetu.

To be Paymaster:
Lieutenant C. Auguste Larue.

To be Adjutant, with the rank of Captain:
Major F. D. Gagnier.

To be Quarter-Master:
Riding-Master F. Villiers.

To be Surgeon:
F. L. A. Neilson, Esquire.

Staff.

The following staff appointments in connection with the militia corps for service in the North-West are hereby made, viz.:—

To be Assistant Brigade-Major:
Major James F. McLeod.

To be Assistant Control Officer:
Captain A. Peebles.

To be Orderly Officer to the Officer in Command of Expeditionary Force:
Lieutenant Frederick Charles Denison.

CHAPTER VIII.

RIEL'S SECOND REBELLION.

FIFTEEN years had elapsed since the rebellion of 1869-70, and the transfer of the country to Canada. In this interval great progress had been made; two main lines of railway were constructed, one, from the south through the Western States, and one from the old provinces of Canada, through Canadian territory, north of the great lakes. The population of the newly-acquired territory had at the same time largely increased, and spread over the face of the country, in numerous small bands of settlers, forming the nucleus of what must soon be populous districts. The half-breeds, having in numerous instances sold out their claims to newcomers, migrated westward in large bands, taking with them their families, their stock and worldly possessions, and carrying all in the rude Red River cart. In those days it was no uncommon thing to see a train of sixty or seventy of these primitive conveyances, freighted with these nomadic people, proceeding westward along the trail to select other localities on the banks of the great rivers, where they could settle down for awhile by themselves, untram-

melled by the laws and habits of civilization and apart from the incoming population. And now, throughout those distant regions, may be found small settlements, of three or four hundred souls, mostly composed of those who formerly resided on the Red River in the neighbourhood of Winnipeg. In this newly-acquired territory, in which the half-breed sought a new home, four, six, or even eight hundred miles' travel by cart is little thought of. The horses pasture on the luxuriant vegetation of the prairies, and the people, while thus travelling, live on the game that everywhere abounds. Thus isolated, though accompanied on all occasions by their faithful priests, who as a rule are alike their temporal and spiritual advisers, these people preserve their primitive habits and customs, and retain sufficient of their savage nature to relish the excitement of the chase and not infrequently that of battle.

The half-breeds comprising these communities select the banks of the larger rivers and apportion off for themselves farms with but a few chains frontage on the river, making up their area by running them two miles deep, out on to the prairie. This is done that their houses may be built close to one another, and that they may have the benefit of the river water for their cattle, and thus save themselves the labour of digging wells. Besides this, the quantities of fish to be got in these rivers are a great help towards the family's subsistence.

Between the north and south branches of the Saskatchewan river, and adjacent to the English community of Prince Albert, which comprises some six thousand souls, is situated the mission of St. Laurent, containing a population of twelve or fifteen hundred people. Both these settlements have made great progress during the last few years. Their means of communication with the outer world is however necessarily imperfect, and the cost of freighting is heavy, as they are distant about two hundred and fifty miles north of the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway. But, like the settlements planted by Lord Selkirk on the banks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, in the early part of the present century, they have struggled, grown, and prospered; yet, owing to their great distance and isolation from the civilized world, their voice has been but faintly heard, and their complaints indifferently listened to.

The Canadian Government during these years was busy surveying the country, endeavouring to keep pace with the rapidly advancing settlements, and connecting the territory by base and meridian lines from east to west and from north to south. In consequence of the previous growth of the settlements in and around Prince Albert, surveying parties had been early sent forward to locate townships and divide them into lots. The prevailing system of surveys is by townships six miles square, subdivided into sections one mile square, separated

by road allowances one chain and a-half wide. When the surveyors came into the settlement of St. Laurent, they were at once met with the difficulty of the locations, made by the half-breeds, which we have before described. Having no instructions, they continued their surveys upon the recognized principle, leaving, however, any lands occupied by squatters intact. The surveyors in due course made their returns to Ottawa, and a land agent was appointed. For some time, however, the land office was not opened for business, and the settlers were unable to make entries for their lands or to obtain their patents.

A good deal of confusion arose during the early settlement of this district, owing to the numbers who sought to obtain the most eligible locations, having no guide to go by, or survey to direct them. They clung on, however, to the locations they had first taken up, irrespective of the closeness of neighbours. The settlement of these claims, and the policy of permitting the half-breeds to maintain their own surveys, was no doubt the cause of the great and apparently unnecessary delay in satisfying the settlers, who were anxious to know what land their titles covered. In addition, these half-breeds contended that they should be allotted the scrip for two hundred and forty acres of land, the same as their brethren in the province of Manitoba, a policy that had always been contemplated by the country but was held in

abeyance. Many of them had already received scrip in that province, but without question they nevertheless hoped to get it again. This had been petitioned for frequently, but apparently no attention had been paid to them.

The reason given by the Government, in the debate upon the alleged grievances, was that Archbishop Taché and other friends of the half-breeds represented that until the half-breeds had become more acquainted with the civilization that was surrounding them, and better able to hold their own, it would be wiser not to accede to their demands. Archbishop Taché wanted reserves made for the half-breeds, to be held in trust for them for three generations. Lieut.-Governor Laird, and the North-West Council recommended that ten years should elapse before the half-breeds should have the power to part with their privileges. These were all sensible recommendations, but the people themselves wanted to secure the few dollars the issue of scrip would give them. Their friends, moreover, felt that if patents were granted them and their scrip distributed, a repetition of the exodus that had taken place from the settlements around Winnipeg would ensue, and that these settlements, which were now contented and happy, would be broken up and the people would migrate further west into the Peace River and other isolated districts. It is a benefit to the country to have pioneers like these forming

outposts for the advancing tide of immigration; and looking at it from that standpoint, it was a mistake postponing the issue of their scrip. But the Government inclined to take a paternal view of their circumstances, and yielding no doubt to the suggestions of their friends, delayed the appointment of the Commission to award the scrip to those entitled to it.

The Commission, however, was appointed in January, 1885, previous to the outbreak of disturbance; and before the campaign was over it had completed its task, allotting scrip to those who were entitled to receive it. Speculators accompanied the Commission to the various settlements and purchased from the half-breeds the valuable rights and privileges which were thus granted. It is perhaps well to give here the result of their labours and enquiries, to show that their friends were right in postponing as long as they could the realization of these valuable privileges.

The Commission appointed to inquire into the half-breed claims and to make the award to those entitled to the scrip granted altogether about nineteen hundred to heads of families and their children. So just and liberal were the awards that, included in this nineteen hundred, were a number of half-breeds who had been drawing treaty all the time but resigned it and took scrip, and about three hundred who had died of small-pox some years previously, during an epidemic that had visited

the district near Edmonton. The latter had become entitled to the scrip by virtue of their residence in the territory in 1870, the date of the transfer, and their scrip was awarded to their heirs. It is also worthy of note that in the parish of St. Laurent, where Riel made his headquarters, and which was the scene of the rebellion, only sixty souls were entitled to the scrip. The remainder belonged to families who had emigrated from the province of Manitoba and had already received the benefit of the half-breed grant. Eighty seven were entitled to it in the Prince Albert district. The scrip they received, in the case of heads of families, granted the right to locate one hundred and sixty acres of land, or one hundred and sixty dollars in scrip, good to purchase Dominion lands at the current price. In the case of minors, it conveyed the right to locate two hundred and forty acres of land, or two hundred and forty dollars in scrip. Of those who obtained their scrip, nearly ninety per cent. elected to take the money value in preference to the land, which they parted with in many cases for about thirty-five cents on the dollar. A half-breed with any Indian blood can take treaty as an Indian, and can resign it at his pleasure for scrip.

Withholding the patents and the scrip, and the system of surveys, were the chief causes which excited the people and enabled Riel to stir up an armed rebellion in the country for his own glory and personal advan-

tage. Although, according to Père Andre's evidence, a telegram came on the 4th of March to say that the Government had acceded to the issue of scrip and patents and river surveys, no word had come in regard to Riel's compensation, and so he went on with the rebellion.

This is how the half-breeds reasoned. Riel, in the year 1869, had been successful in his stand against the Hon. William Macdougall and the Hudson's Bay Company, where for six months he had served out the stores of the Company to pay his people for their services to him and to feed them, and had also obtained for them scrip for two hundred and forty acres of land, each, and the recognition of their existing privileges and titles. Hence, they thought, he could not fail to accomplish similar great results for these new settlements, many of which were made up of those who migrated from the neighbourhood of Winnipeg, and had realized the temporary advantages and other gains of the previous rebellion.

Riel had spent most of his time, after his banishment, in the United States, where he became an American citizen, and in 1884 was teaching a small school of half-breeds in a settlement in the territory of Montana. The people of this settlement were imbued with the same sentiments and feelings, and inherited much of the same blood, as the half-breeds in Canada. While there Riel had on two or three occasions got himself into trouble with

the American authorities, by interfering illegally in the politics of the country, showing that the spirit of agitation was still strong in him, and that he was there striving to use the influence of the half-breeds for his own ambitious ends.

The thoughts of the half-breeds of the Saskatchewan valley naturally turned to Riel, in their desire to secure their rights and privileges, which so far had received little attention from the Government. In the summer of 1884, four men, Gabriel Dumont, Dumais, Moise Ouillette, and James Isbister, went to Montana, sought an interview with Riel, and persuaded him to come up to the Saskatchewan to assist them in their cause. Reil did not require much persuasion; in fact, it is stated, that he brought about this mission himself. As his answer to this delegation is of interest, I give it below :—

"*To Messrs. James Isbister, Gabriel Dumont, Moise Ouillette, and Michael Dumais :—*

"ST. PETER'S MISSION, June 4th, 1884.

"GENTLEMEN,—You have travelled more than seven hundred miles, from the Saskatchewan country across the international line, to make me a visit. The communities in the midst of which you live have sent you as their delegates to ask my advice on various difficulties which have rendered the British North-West unhappy under the administration of the Ottawa Government. Moreover, you invite me to go and stay amongst you, your hope being that I, for one, could help to better in some respects

your condition, and cordial and pressing is your invitation. You want me and my family to accompany you; I am at liberty to excuse myself and say no; yet you are waiting for me, so that I have only to get ready, and your letters of delegation assure me that a friendly welcome awaits me in the midst of those who sent you.

"Gentlemen, your personal visit does me honour, and causes me great pleasure, but on account of its representative character, your coming to me has the appearance of a remarkable circumstance, which I record as one of the gratifications of my life—an event which my family will remember; and I pray to God that my assistance will prove so successful to you as to render this event a blessing among the many blessings of this my fortieth year. To be frank is the shortest. I doubt whether my advice given to you on this soil, concerning affairs in Canadian territories, could cross the border and retain any influence. But there is another view of the matter. I am entitled, according to the 31st and 32nd clauses of the Manitoba treaty, to land, of which the Canadian Government have directly or indirectly deprived me, and my claim to which is valid, notwithstanding the fact that I have become an American citizen. Considering then, that my interests are identical with yours, I accept your very kind invitation, and will go and spend some months amongst you, in the hope that by petitioning the Government we will obtain the redress of our grievances.

"Montana has a population, of which the native half-breed element constitutes a considerable portion, and if we include those white men, who through being connected by marriage, or in other ways, have a personal interest in their welfare, I believe it is safe to assert that this element is a pretty strong one. I am just getting acquainted with them, and I am one of those who would like to unite and direct its vote for the furtherance of their best interests. Moreover, I have made friends and acquain-

tances amongst whom I like to live. I go with you, but I will come back in September.

"I have the honour to be,
"Gentlemen delegates,
"Your humble servant,
"LOUIS RIEL."

Riel accompanied the delegates on their return to the Saskatchewan, and took with him his wife and family. His crimes of 1869-70 had been condoned, though he was permanently deprived of his political rights. His term of banishment, however, had now expired, and he was once more entitled to return a free man.*

A number of the Prince Albert settlers, who had grievances similar to the half breeds, were inclined to make common cause with them, and welcome Riel to their midst; but upon discovering the extreme measures he intended taking, they afterwards refused to have anything to do with him. He held meetings in the various parishes, and explained his policy, and commenced a con-

* That the French half-breeds, at the outset, were anxious to have Riel come among them, and lead an agitation in the district, is clear from the following letter of Father André, which has recently been published. Says this Priest:

"MY DEAR MR. RIEL,—The opinion here is so pronounced in your favour and longs for you so ardently that it would be a great disappointment to the people of Prince Albert if you did not come. So you see you absolutely must come. You are the most popular man of the country, and with the exception of four or five persons all the world impatiently expects you. I have only this to say—Come. Come quickly. With kind remembrances,

"I am,
"A. ANDRE."

stitutional agitation for the redress of the grievances of the people who had sent for him.

It is a wonder that Riel would again venture to head a violent and treasonable agitation of the half-breeds. He had narrowly escaped the consequences of his acts of 1869-70, through the sympathetic interference of Archbishop Taché. He had put the Canadian Government and the Imperial authorities to a large expense, in sending troops into the country, and he had taken the life of a fellow-countryman, without rhyme or reason, which had stirred the hearts of the Canadian people to the depths. On the other hand, however, there was a chance of personal profit, and he no doubt came with the intention of pushing his agitation to extremes until that profit should come. Sir John Macdonald declared in Parliament that Riel had made an offer to the Government to leave the country for five thousand dollars, which offer was more moderate than the amount stated by Riel himself, in his speech to the jury, during his trial in Regina. In this speech he claimed that there was a balance of thirty-five thousand dollars due him since the time he was at the head of the provisional government in 1870.

As in 1869, Riel prepared a "Bill of Rights," which contained extensive provisions for the half-breeds and the Indians. In 1869 the half-breed grant was computed by apportioning one-seventh of the lands of the Province

of Manitoba to their use and that of their children. Riel wished a similar principle to be carried out with regard to the North-West Territories. I do not think this principle of one-seventh was ever formulated before the Government, but I believe this was the inducement he held out to the half-breeds and the Indians; and to further every interest on his behalf he made promises of liberal grants of land, etc. The "Bill of Rights," which was adopted at the meetings held in the various settlements, contained liberal provisions for the half-breeds and their children, as well as for the Indians.

Riel continued his agitation through the winter and held meetings in the English settlements, which were attended by many sympathizers, who thought some good might come of the agitation, although open rebellion was never hinted at or contemplated by the sympathizers. But the latter were playing with fire in having anything to do with Riel, for he had personal ends to serve, and was using them merely as his tools.

In order to get some sort of authority for the proceedings he now determined to take, he formed a provisional government upon the same basis as that formed by him in the year 1869. The ostensible reason he gave for the formation of this government, was that the "Bill of Rights" which they had prepared, and which had been so long neglected, would have to be demanded. It is a

wonder that he did not see danger in his proceedings, or in his assuming this leadership; for having been deprived of his political rights, he could not claim, as a new settler, the same status or the same justification as those could claim whom he was leading. It was urged as an injustice, that the white settlers had the privilege of entering second homesteads, after having performed settlement duties on the first, while the half-breeds who had come west were not entitled to, or could not receive, their scrip a second time.

This was a specious argument, but the difference lies in this, that in the one case the Government gives a free grant of land, and in return obtains a settler whose industry will add to the wealth and prosperity of the country; in the other case, the Government gives a transferable right to two hundred and forty acres of land, which is reserved to meet that obligation. This right passes into the hands of a speculator at a low price, and the land lies fallow for years to come, to the detriment of the country, to the detriment of the neighbourhood, and to the detriment of every one except the holder. But more than that, the half-breed who chooses to go to the land-office and say: "I want to take up a homestead under the conditions of the Land Act," is perfectly free to do so, whether or not he has obtained the patent for his land in the old Red River

settlement of 1869, and his half-breed scrip in addition. And after he has performed the settlement duties of that homestead, he is still at liberty, under the land regulations, to take up another homestead, the same as his fellow citizen from Ontario, Quebec, or anywhere else. Nothing could be more liberal; nothing should so little justify the armed rebellion which these men instituted.

While I am on the subject of scrip, I would here point out the wisdom of the system the Government has adopted in the issuing of land-grants to the soldiers who were engaged in the late rebellion. The Government recognized the sacrifice that had necessarily to be made by the citizen soldiers, in turning out and leaving their employments to take up arms in defence of their country's laws. For this, it made each a free grant of three hundred and twenty acres of land, without fees, provided he performed the settlement duties required by the Homestead Act, or found a substitute to take his place. Failing that, in lieu of the land grant, each soldier may accept scrip, which entitles him to purchase eighty dollars' worth of Dominion lands, or to assign the same to anyone who wishes to do so. By this system the Government secures a settler, whose whole means can be applied to the stocking and cultivating the land, for which he obtains his title at the end of three years. If he elects to take his scrip, the Government secures an individual who puts his

capital into the country, by the purchase of Dominion lands at the current price, and who has a pecuniary interest in the development of the territory. It is unfortunate that the scrip lately granted to the half-breeds could not have been put under the same system, although this difficulty has been obviated by the fact that nearly ninety per cent. of those entitled to the scrip elected to take the money value.

CHAPTER IX.

Duck Lake.

On the formation of Riel's second provisional government, in March, 1885, it immediately became necessary to levy contributions to sustain its dignity. From levying they got to seizing, and from seizing stores they got to seizing prisoners. Of the possession of prisoners, Riel, in days gone by, well knew the value.

The first overt act was committed when Riel requested the French half-breeds to bring their arms with them to a meeting to be held on the 3rd of March; and from that day matters grew worse. On the 18th of March the stores of Walters, and Baker, and Kerr Bros., at St. Laurent, were raided; and Indian agent Lash, Astley, a surveyor, Tompkins, the telegraph repairer, and other Government employees were taken prisoners.

Major Crozier, who was stationed at Fort Carlton, received this news on the 19th, and at once sent over to Prince Albert to Captain Moore and others asking for reinforcements. A meeting was held, and it was determined to send a force of forty men, who on the 20th marched to Fort Carlton, forty miles distant, arriving there about ten o'clock the same night.

Major Crozier had already received a letter from Riel, through Mr. Mitchell, the owner of stores at Duck Lake, demanding his surrender. Crozier at once sent Thomas McKay with Mitchell to the half-breeds to endeavour to get them to disperse. McKay, who is an intelligent English half-breed, started for Batoche with Mitchell during the night of the 20th, and arrived at Walters and Baker's store, which is on the opposite side of the river to Batoche. They were there met by a guard and were escorted across the river to the council-chamber, which Riel had set up in the church. McKay's sworn account of this interview is important as showing the determination of Riel to shed blood. Mr. Mitchell introduced McKay to Riel, and having ascertained that he came with Mitchell, who was the bearer of correspondence, he was accorded the same protection as was guaranteed to Mitchell.

Upon being introduced, McKay said, "There seems to be great excitement here, Mr. Riel." He said, "No, there is no excitement at all; it is simply that the people are trying to redress their grievances, as they had asked repeatedly for their rights." McKay then told him that it was a very dangerous thing to resort to arms. Riel said that he had been waiting fifteen long years, and that they had been imposed upon, and it was time now, after they had waited patiently, that their rights should be granted, as the poor half-breeds had been imposed

upon. McKay disputed his wisdom and advised him to adopt different measures. He accused McKay of having neglected the half-breeds. The latter told him that this was simply a matter of opinion, that he had certainly taken an interest in them, and that his stake in the country was the same as theirs, and that time and again he had so advised them, and had not neglected them. He also told Riel that he had neglected them a long time if he took as deep an interest as he professed to. Riel became very excited, and got up and said: "You don't know what we are after. It is blood, blood; we want blood; it is a war of extermination. Everybody that is against us is to be driven out of the country. There were two curses in the country—the Government and the Hudson's Bay Company."

Reil now turned to McKay and said that he was a traitor to his Government; that he was a speculator and a scoundrel, a robber and a thief. He finally said it was blood, and the first blood they wanted was his. There were some little dishes on the table, and he got hold of a spoon and said, "You have no blood, you are a traitor to your people, your blood is frozen, and all the little blood you have will be there in five minutes," putting the spoon up to his face, and pointing to it. McKay said, "If you think you are benefiting your cause by taking my blood, you are quite welcome to it." He called his people and the committee, and wanted to

put him on trial for his life; and Garnot got up and went to the table with a sheet of paper, and Gabriel Dumont took a chair on a syrup keg, and Riel called up the witnesses against him. He said he was a liar, and he told them that McKay had said all the people in that section of the country had risen against them. He said that it was not so; that it was only the people in the town. Champagne got up and spoke in his favour. McKay told them that Reil was threatening to take his life, and said, "If you think by taking my life you will benefit your cause, you are welcome to do so." Champagne said no, they did not wish anything of the kind; they wanted to redress their grievances in a constitutional way. Riel then rose and said he had a committee meeting of importance going on upstairs, and he went off. McKay spoke to them for quite a while, and Riel occasionally came down and put his head in, and said he was speaking too loud, that he was annoying their committee meeting. When he had said what he had to say, McKay asked for something to eat, as he was pretty hungry. After he had eaten, McKay lay down on some blankets in the corner till Mitchell was ready. Mitchell was upstairs, and when he came down, they prepared to leave for Fort Carlton. Riel presently came in and apologized to McKay for what he had said, adding that he did not mean to harm him personally, but that it was his cause he was speaking against, and he wished to show that he enter-

tained great respect for him. He said he was very sorry not to have him with him, that it was not too late to join him yet. He also said that it was Major Crozier's last opportunity of averting bloodshed, and that unless he surrendered Fort Carlton, an attack would be made at twelve o'clock.

It had been arranged with Mr. Mitchell at the committee meeting upstairs that Riel should send two delegates to meet Major Crozier half way; and an hour after the arrival of McKay at Fort Carlton, he turned round and accompanied Captain Moore to meet the delegates. At the appointed place they were met by Charles Nolin and Maxime Lepine, who had been sent as delegates to demand the surrender of Fort Carlton, with all its stores and property, undertaking if it were quietly given up that the Police should be allowed to go unharmed. As Major Crozier's instructions to the delegates were that the people should disband, and give up the leaders at once, or suffer the penalty of their criminal acts, the meeting resulted in nothing; and Lepine did not present the document intended for Major Crozier. It was afterwards found among Riel's papers in Batoche subsequent to its capture.

Things remained as they were for a day or two, awaiting anxiously the arrival of Colonel Irvine. This officer had been despatched with a force of a hundred men in great haste from Regina, upon the receipt of the first

news of the outbreak. He arrived at Prince Albert on the 24th March ; but in the meantime, Major Crozier had determined to send a guard with some sleighs and take away the forage and provisions that were in Mitchell's store at Duck Lake to a place of safety. So, on the morning of the 26th, about four o'clock he sent a small detachment off with a dozen sleighs to remove the stores, under Sergt. Stewart. They advanced, with four men in front acting as advance guard, and when within a mile and a-half of Duck Lake, the guard were seen returning at full gallop with a number of half-breeds after them. The sleighs were halted and turned round, and McKay, who was with them, awaited their coming. They were a party of between thirty and forty, headed by Gabriel Dumont. He was very excited, jumped off his horse, and loaded his rifle, cocked it and went up to McKay and threatened to blow his brains out. McKay told him that two could play at that game, and that he had better be quiet.

Dumont talked wildly, and wanted McKay's party to surrender. He said it was McKay's fault that his people were not assisting them, and that McKay was to blame for all the trouble. McKay refused to surrender, and said that they had the best right to the property. Some men got into the sleighs and attempted to snatch the lines, but the teamsters held on to them. Gabriel Dumont fired his rifle over their heads, and they

then stepped out of the road and allowed the sleighs to return to Carlton, without, however, having secured the forage and provisions. Sergt. Stewart had sent a message back to Major Crozier to say that he had met with resistance and wanted support, and about three miles from the fort they met Major Crozier coming with his whole force to assert the law. He sent back young Retallack with a despatch to Col. Irvine to tell him that he had started out to support some teams that had gone over for provisions, and that help would be needed. McKay and his party turned round and accompanied him. Crozier's force, numbering in all about one hundred, now advanced along the trail towards Duck Lake. About four miles from there the advance guard reported that there were some Indians in a house belonging to Beardy, whose tribe had joined the insurgents, and whose reserve they were then crossing. They advanced past this house to where McKay had been stopped in the morning.

On nearing Duck Lake the advance guard was seen galloping back, pursued by a large body of the rebels, and one of them, Ernest Todd, reported to Major Crozier that the half-breeds were advancing in numbers, and that he had been fired upon, receiving a bullet in his saddle. Major Crozier at once called Joe McKay, and said, "I will hold a parley with them before attempting to advance;" but, while holding this parley, he saw an attempt on the part of the enemy to surround his men, and at

once gave the order to fire. At the same time, one of the Indians who was parleying with Major Crozier tried to wrest the rifle from Joe McKay, and in the scuffle that ensued the Indian was shot. The nine-pounder was loaded, ready for action, but Major Crozier was in the line of fire, and it could not be used upon the enemy until he moved, and the gunners could not make him hear. Before he got out of the way, the great body of the rebels had disappeared over the hill out of danger. Major Crozier turned round angrily and said, "Why don't you fire that gun?" He was told that he was in the line of fire, and the answer was, "Well, I am only one man, you should have fired anyway;" and to this circumstance a number of the rebels owed their lives.

The fight that ensued was nearly being a complete massacre, and only by the coolness of Major Crozier and his force was this avoided. Captain Morton took his men to the right flank, near a rail fence, where, only seventy-five yards distant, and not seen at first for a bluff, they were terribly exposed to the fire from the neighbouring house. The police were formed up near the sleighs. The skirmish lasted for thirty or forty minutes, and was most disastrous. Nine Prince Albert volunteers and three policemen were killed and about twenty-five wounded. There was no possibility of an advance through the deep snow, and the enemy kept well out of sight, though the gallant men managed to kill six

of them, and in this fight Gabriel Dumont got a severe scalp wound. The mistake Major Crozier made was in attempting to hold a parley. Riel took advantage of this to send his men round, under cover of the gullies, and made an attempt to surround the police and capture the whole party.

Major Crozier ordered his men to retire. The horses were hitched up under fire, and the withdrawal took place in the most orderly manner. Captain Moore, while he was stepping into one of the sleighs, had the misfortune to receive a bullet, which shattered his leg, and the injury was so great that the limb had to be amputated. The little force reached Carlton about four o'clock, and half an hour afterwards Colonel Irvine marched in with his men. Colonel Irvine, now being in command, determined to evacuate the fort and to retire on Prince Albert. This was done on the morning of the 28th. A portion of Fort Carlton caught fire by accident and was burned; and on the 3rd of April, Riel and his men marched up and took possession of the ruins of the fort, where they remained for a time in the unconsumed buildings.

Major Crozier was quite unprepared for such an encounter, and, no doubt, did not contemplate that, in the execution of his duty, he would meet with such murderous opposition. Otherwise, he would have hesitated to expose his men, without greater military precaution, as Colonel Irvine was expected shortly with an increased

force. Though brave lives were lost in the endeavour to uphold the laws of their country, and to protect the isolated settlements from the insurgents, they have not been sacrificed in vain. This engagement was the signal to the Government to take decisive steps to prevent the recurrence of such a rising, which now seemed inevitable, and to show the power of Canada to maintain her laws, to punish offenders, and to control her Indian population scattered throughout the immense territory.

The danger that presented itself was not so much the half-breed rising, under Riel, which was confined to a certain locality, but the fear that in the excitement of war and at the instigation of Riel, the whole Indian population of the country might rise, and the various bands and reserves scattered over it would commit depredations, and bring death and desolation to the peaceful homes of the settlers. I may here say that such was not the case, owing to the excellent system under which Canada has always managed her Indian population. Although there may be faults arising from individual instances of bad management, yet the general system, and the good faith and honesty which prevail in the management of Indian affairs, have been productive of the very best results, and on this occasion prevented widespread disaster reaching the far distant homes of the enterprising and defenceless settlers. The Indians have shown themselves capable of appreciating all that has already been

done for them, and sensible of the advantages yet in store.

With the exception of a few evil spirits, who committed some atrocities, the general demeanour of the Indians showed the white settlers that on future occasions there need not be that alarm which fills the mind in having these savage tribes as neighbours. Of course, from their nomadic habits and savage nature, for many years to come they will require controlling; but, out of thirty thousand Indians, spread over the country, there are probably fewer individual instances of crime among them than there is in the same number of white people. It does not do for us to judge them by our own standard; they are a conquered race, they are narrowed down from their wonted privilege of roaming free over the whole country to occupying reserves set apart for them, which, though liberal in area, is, nevertheless, a restraint upon their freedom.

It was at once felt by both Government and people that the half-breed rising in the North-West, if allowed to assume important dimensions and become an Indian rising, great disaster would befal the commercial interests of the country, and throw its prospects back for many years by retarding immigration, which is so essential to its development. It was true statesmanship, therefore, on the part of the Government, to realize this fact in time, and to throw promptly into the North-West a force

strong enough to insure the speedy re-establishment of law and order, and to show the outer world the determination of Canada to protect the lives and property of her most distant citizens.

The rising in the North-West also brought out such a national feeling in the Government's call for troops, that will allay any anxiety in the future, and prove to all political parties, that when the interests of Canada or her national existence are at stake, the people are a unit. Every province enthusiastically desired to join in the expedition, and the Canadian spirit that was aroused dominated every sectional and provincial feeling. This attitude of the nation has done much to raise the character of our people in the eyes of the world.

It would seem unaccountable that Major Crozier, an officer of twelve years' experience in the country, should have been led into a trap, which proved so disastrous. But Major Crozier was resting under the insult offered by Riel, who sent to demand his surrender, and as an officer of the country, with an armed force at his back, he deemed it his duty, for the honour of his men, to go out and support the teams and the little detachment which had been stopped. It must also be remembered that the whole of this vast region, eight hundred miles long by four hundred broad, filled with a half-breed and Indian population, had hitherto been well and peacefully governed by a small force of five hundred mounted police,

which, in themselves, combined military and civil elements. By this force the law had been well administered and well upheld. By their coolness and courage, on occasions without number, they had entered the camps of the excited Indians, and, with an escort of two or three, been accustomed to take their prisoner. Their ability to do so has frequently excited the admiration of American officers to the south of the boundary, who were engaged in the same duties, where, for the capture of a murderer or a horse thief, or in putting down whiskey sellers, a force would have to be put in motion and often lives lost in the attempt.

On our side of the line this was accomplished by the determined action of two or three policemen; and Major Crozier doubtless thought that the same determined action on his part would nip in the bud a serious outbreak, which would prove disastrous to the country. On this occasion, however, a new element had sprung up in the person of Riel, who had not yet interfered on this side of the line. He was prepared to resort to force to accomplish his purpose, or die in the attempt. Besides this, Riel worked upon the superstitious beliefs of his people; he worked upon their feelings, and overawed them by the fears he excited for their safety, the while holding out large promises of reward to stimulate their courage and devotion.

After the battle of Duck Lake, the half-breeds returned

in an excited state to their headquarters, where they held the prisoners, and in the wild excitement of their savage nature some of them wished to wreak their vengeance upon their harmless captives; but they were too valuable as a hostage to use in the future, when Riel must have felt that he would have to give an account of his actions. He at once set to work to enlarge his plans for the defeat of the whole country and to hold at defiance the authority of Canada. Immediately he sent his runners to the different tribes of Indians, hundreds of miles away, with letters indited by himself, instructing them to rise, to seize the forts, and to secure all the provisions and ammunition. These runners came to my own neighbourhood, in the Shell River district, to the Indians and half-breeds in the thickly settled Qu'Appelle district, to Poundmaker in the Battleford district, and Big Bear in the Fort Pitt district, and wherever he knew of a tribe of Indians or a settlement of half-breeds. He cunningly took advantage of an eclipse of the sun, which was to occur during March, and told the Indians that upon a certain day the sun was to darken, and that was to be a sign that they should rise, and also be a sign of his power. It is here worthy of remark that "John Smith's" tribe at the Company's crossing, near Prince Albert, "Mis-ta-wa-sis" (big child), near Carlton, "Chic-a-sta-fa-sin" (star blanket), on the road to Green Lake, "Moosomin," near Battleford, besides many other tribes

whose reserves were near the scene of the outbreak, left their reserves to avoid being compelled to join in the rising. Riel, moreover, instituted a policy for his own aggrandizement, by attempting to overthrow the religion of his church; he declaimed against the interference of the church in the temporal affairs of the people, limiting it strictly to its spiritual power; he formulated a new religion, constituting himself the head and prophet; he baptized Jackson, the secretary of his provisional government, into this new religion, and gave a feast in the village of Batoche in honour of it, inviting all his people. Those who came he held as soldiers, and did not allow them to return to their homes. This all occurred during the latter part of March. He then cut the wires in the neighbourhood of Batoche, which severed telegraph communication between Prince Albert and the East. The telegraph communication crosses the Saskatchewan at Clarke's Crossing on its way to Battleford, and there branches off in a northerly direction to Prince Albert. It has been a matter of astonishment that he never attempted or permitted the cutting of the wires elsewhere, which was an easy thing to accomplish all through the country, and would have hampered the movements of the forces sent to overthrow him. His object in this was supposed to be, to allow the fullest information to go to the world of the events that were now likely to occur in rapid succession, in the hope that the Fenian element in the United States

would come to his assistance, or that the half-breeds, to the south of the boundary, would send him aid. Possibly also, he expected that the Indians on the boundary line of the United States would harass the Canadian troops. Such were the desperate measures of Riel, into which he had drawn his people, and he assured them of the co-operation of these forces to assist them in their cause.

Colonel Irvine's plans were now altered, and instead of taking his whole force to punish the rebels, he deemed it more prudent to act on the defensive, and take steps for the protection of the settlers, whose property and lives were considered to be in great danger. The half-breeds who committed the dastardly act at Duck Lake now felt that they carried their lives in their hands, and under the command of Riel were determined to go on to further victories, and rouse the half-breed and Indian population throughout the whole northern district. This, no doubt, led Colonel Irvine to abandon Fort Carlton and concentrate his forces in Prince Albert, for the protection of that populous district, and in the altered state of affairs to await the action of the Dominion Government.

We will now leave Riel for a time to see the effect of the Duck Lake fight upon the Canadian public, when the news was sent over the wires.

CHAPTER X.

THE CANADIAN MILITIA.

BEFORE giving my readers the details of the prompt measures which the Canadian Government took to meet the grave emergency which had arisen, I desire to give some idea of the military forces that Canada has at her disposal, and to draw attention to the fact that the Canadian people had now to deal with the most serious military operations they had yet been called upon unaided to undertake.

The North-West is to Canada very much what the colonies of England have for centuries been to her. She has always rushed to their defence and helped them to maintain their laws inviolate. Formerly Canada was a station for British troops, which were always available for her protection and use; but in the year 1870 a new policy had been dictated by Mr. Gladstone's Government, of withdrawing from Canada the troops that had for so many years been maintained there, and throwing upon Canada the responsibility of maintaining her own defences, retaining only a sufficient force at Halifax for the protection of a coaling station for her fleet. The withdrawal

was so complete that the stores were sold, the guns handed over to Canada, and even the sentry boxes in the citadel of Quebec removed to England. It was a sad day for Canada when the forces that added so much to her prestige, whose expenditure was so beneficial, and whose leisure added so much to the amusement and social life of the country, were withdrawn. But it was a step in the direction of making the colonies self-supporting and self-reliant, a policy which it was intended to extend to England's entire colonial empire, but which led to such adverse criticism that it was checked.

The military force of Canada, in its present organization, was instituted in the year 1855, and consists of two divisions—the active militia and the sedentary militia. Canada, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, is divided into military districts, and in these the active militia is composed of a number of battalions of cavalry, artillery, and infantry, officered after the fashion of the British service, during good behaviour, and recruited by men who undertake to serve for three years. The sedentary militia consists of all those, under the age of sixty, who are not enrolled in the active militia, and are capable of bearing arms, with the ordinary exemptions. At the head of each military district is a permanent staff-officer, a deputy-adjutant-general, assisted by a brigade-major and a district paymaster. The whole is commanded by a major-general, with the assistance of an adjutant-general

and permanent staff. The general is selected from among the distinguished officers of the British army, and his term of service lasts for five years. The civil head of the military organization is a minister of militia (at present, Sir Adolphe Caron), assisted by a deputy-minister and the staff of his department. While the British troops were quartered in Canada, it was permitted individual officers and men, who wished to obtain a more thorough military training, to spend a brief period with regiments to learn their duties. This led to the institution of military schools in the various provinces, where short and long courses of instruction can be obtained and certificates granted. With the growth of the country these schools were enlarged, and a small permanent force was organized, composed of two batteries of artillery, denominated 'A' and 'B' batteries, to which officers were permanently appointed and men enlisted for lengthened service.

Finding them to work well, these military schools were enlarged to include schools of cavalry and infantry, until now the permanent force of the country consists of about two thousand men, including the Mounted Police, which is one thousand strong. This force is divided up into permanent corps, of about one hundred and fifty men each, which form the various schools of instruction throughout the country for artillery, cavalry and infantry tactics and drill. A Royal Military College has been established at

Kingston, on the model of Sandhurst, where a thorough military training and education is obtained; and four commissions annually are given by the British Government to the successful competitors. Captain Wise, Lieut. Frere, A.D.C.'s, Major Perry, Mounted Police, Lieut. Nanton, Midland, Lieut. Sears, Colonel Otter's Brigade-Major, and Lieut. Laurie, of the 90th, were all educated at this College, and took part in the recent campaign. Lieuts. Wood, Cartwright, Ogilvie, Pelletier, and Nelles, were also from the Military College, besides about twenty others. The active militia are called out annually to do twelve days' drill, which is generally performed in brigade camp or under canvas at battalion headquarters.

It will thus be seen that Canada has at her disposal a drilled force of about two thousand regulars, an active militia force of about forty thousand, and a reserve of all the available muscle in the country, which numbers about seven hundred thousand. The growth of this military force has been very gradual, additions and modifications continually being carried out as time and experience dictated. The man who, probably more than any other, has had to do with these organizations and their modifications, is Colonel Powell, the Adjutant-General, who for nearly twenty-five years has faithfully discharged the duties of that position. The General at present in command of the forces in Canada is General Sir Fred Middleton, formerly of the 29th Regiment, and

late commandant of the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, where for several years he governed that training school for officers in the British army.

General Middleton* was appointed to his present position in the year 1884, and came out to perform the routine duties which are generally the work that falls to the lot of this office, consisting of inspecting the

* Major-General Middleton, at present commanding the Canadian forces, is the third son of Major-General Charles Middleton, who saw a great deal of service in India. He was educated at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, from which he obtained his commission, without purchase, 30th December, 1842. He served as an ensign in the 58th regiment in New South Wales, Norfolk Island and New Zealand, and was present at most of the fighting in the operations in the latter country against the Maoris, in 1845-6. He was mentioned twice in despatches, and was promoted to a lieutenancy in the 96th regiment, August, 1848, and served in that regiment in India until October, 1854, during which time he passed the required examination in surveying, and was promoted Captain, July, 1852. He served as a volunteer in the suppression of the Santhal rebellion, in 1855, in command of a troop of the Nawab of Moorshedabad's cavalry, and received the thanks of the Indian Government. He exchanged into the 29th regiment, June, 1855, and served with it in Burmah. He served during the Indian mutiny, 1857-58, in General Frank's column, on the march to the relief of Lucknow, and was present as A.D.C. at all the engagements and affairs which took place on that march; also as A.D.C. to General Sir E. Lugard, K.C.B., at the siege and capture of Lucknow in the pursuit of Roor Singh and the subsequent engagements. He was five times mentioned in despatches, and recommended for the Victoria Cross for two acts of bravery, but being on personal staff, was not considered eligible by Lord Clyde. He received the brevet of Major, served as Brigade-Major to the field forces in Oude, employed in attacking the forts of the rebel chief. He served with the 29th regiment in England from 1859 to 1861; A.D.C. to General Franklyn in Gibraltar; Brigadier-Major and temporary Police Magistrate in that fortress, and A.D.C. to General Sir Henry Bates, at Malta, until November, 1862. He passed through Hythe School of Musketry and the Staff College, obtaining a first-class certificate at the former. He rejoined the 29th regiment in Canada in August, 1868, and held various important appointments in the service until the removal of the Imperial troops from Canada. In July, 1870, he became superintending officer of garrison instruction to the forces, and inaugurated that system. He was Commandant of the Royal Military College from September, 1874, until his appointment to the command of the Militia of Canada in July, 1884. He was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel in March, 1869, and Colonel in July, 1875. He has the New Zealand medal, the Indian Mutiny medal and clasp, and the Cross of the Commander of the Bath. He was married to Miss Doucet, of Ottawa, while serving in Canada.

forces and endeavouring to improve their drill and efficiency. Little did he think, when he was appointed, that it would fall to his lot to command the first active expedition ever organized solely from the citizen soldiery which he commands, the responsibility of which was to fall upon the shoulders of Canadian statesmen and Canadian officers and men. Without the guiding experience of past expeditions, without any knowledge of how to deal with an armed rebellion, thousands of miles from the central authority, and without the steady military training in the field of any of her officers or men, Canada had to undertake the task of arming, equipping, transporting, and commanding the military expedition which was now deemed necessary; and honourably and well has the task been performed.

Before the Duck Lake fight had taken place, the seizure of prisoners and stores by Riel was sufficient warning to the Government that more than ordinary exertions would be necessary. Therefore, on the 24th of March, 1885, the Government hurriedly despatched General Middleton to Winnipeg, after only a hasty and imperfect consultation, to be prepared for any emergency that might arise.

The General arrived in Winnipeg on the 27th of March. In the meantime, the news of the fight at Duck Lake had been transmitted over the wires, and its sad sacrifice of life brought forcibly before General Middleton and the Government the necessity for a strong force to suc-

cessfully cope with armed resistance in the territory. Calling at once for troops, on his arrival at Winnipeg, the General found that the only available forces there were the 90th Battalion, which had just been organized under the late Colonel Kennedy; a troop of cavalry under Captain Knight, and a field battery of artillery under Major Jarvis. The 90th had been called out on the 23rd, and promptly answering to a full roll-call at their head-quarters, had armed and equipped themselves for service, and were soon ready for the field. The left wing of the 90th was sent forward on the 25th, under Major Boswell, to Troy, a station on the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which was to be used as the base of operations for the column under the immediate command of the General himself. In the emergency many retired military officers in Winnipeg came forward and offered their services.

The other troops called out and promptly answering the call, were, the Governor-General's Body Guard, under Col. Denison; the 10th Royal Grenadiers, under Col. Grasett; the Queen's Own Rifles, under Col. Millar, and "C" School of Infantry, under Major Smith, all of Toronto. These regiments were brigaded under Col. Otter, Commandant of the Infantry School. The late Colonel Williams was authorized to raise a provisional battalion, which came to be familiarly known as "The Midlanders," being composed of two companies from the 46th Battalion

and one each from the 15th, 40th, 45th, 47th, 49th and 57th Battalions, all situated in the Midland district.

Colonel O'Brien was authorized to raise a battalion called the "Simcoe Rangers," composed of four companies of the 35th Simcoe, and four companies of the 12th York Rangers. The 65th Mount Royal Rifles, of Montreal, under Colonel Ouimet, were also called out for active service. Colonel Scott, of Winnipeg, was commissioned to raise a regiment, known as the 91st Battalion, which was drawn from Winnipeg and the surrounding towns. Lieut.-Col. Osborne Smith, C.M.G., was also commissioned to raise a battalion in Winnipeg, called the "92nd," or "Winnipeg Light Infantry."

In addition to these forces, a detachment of fifty sharpshooters was selected from the Governor-General's Foot Guards, under Captain Todd, of Ottawa. On the 31st March the 7th Fusiliers, of London, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Williams, and the 9th Battalion, Quebec, under Colonel Amyot, were also called out. A provisional battalion was formed from detachments of the 66th, the Halifax Garrison Artillery, and the 63rd, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Bremner. The Quebec School of Cavalry, under Colonel Turnbull, and "A" and "B" Batteries, of Quebec and Kingston, were also called out and ordered to the front. Later on, the Montreal Garrison Artillery, under Colonel Oswald, were ordered to proceed to garrison Regina.

Captain Dennis was commissioned to raise an Intelligence Mounted Corps, composed of Surveyors; and local companies were gazetted at Birtle, under the command of Captain Wood, at Regina, under Captain Scott, at Battleford, under Captain Nash, at Emerson, under Captain Whitman, at Yorktown, under Major Watson, at Qu'Appelle, under Captain Jackson, besides a local company at Calgary. The Rocky Mountain Rangers, under Captain Stewart, and the Moose Mountain Scouts, under Captain White, were also put in commission.

The whole of the Eastern corps, numbering about four thousand men, were called from their homes and avocations, to take part in an expedition three thousand miles away, before the winter had yet closed; and within a few days from the 27th March, the date on which the Government had received news of the Duck Lake fight, most of these troops had actually embarked upon the Canadian Pacific Railway for transport to Winnipeg.

The Canadian Pacific Railway was not quite completed to the north of Lake Superior, there being several gaps where the rails were not laid. These gaps, some seventy miles in length, had to be crossed by the troops. The difficulty of these marches was very great, for the snow was still upon the ground, and the country frozen up; but by the energy of the Canadian Pacific Railway authorities, who admirably performed their part in transporting the

troops to the North-West, these difficulties were got over without any mishap. The teams which were engaged upon the construction of the line were used to assist the troops in passing over the gaps, and they were of material assistance in this service, though the exposure to the men was very great. An unfortunate accident happened to Lieut. Morrow, of the Grenadiers, in crossing the gaps: a rifle went off accidentally, and gave him a severe wound, which necessitated his return.

I happened to be visiting Winnipeg at the date of General Middleton's arrival, and having served him with him on former occasions, I waited on him, and offered to raise a force of mounted men that would prove serviceable in the proposed expedition. The men, I urged, resided on their homesteads in the interior, not very far from the scene of action. He asked at what cost this could be done, and I told him at the same rate as the Mounted Police, viz., seventy-five cents per day, with clothing and equipment. The General transmitted my proposal to Ottawa, and in two days I received authority from the Minister of Militia to raise and equip my force.

My home is in the Shell River district, about three hundred miles west of Winnipeg, and nearly seventy miles north of the Canadian Pacific Railway. I received my authority on the 31st March; and before leaving Winnipeg, I ordered from the Hudson's Bay Company my equipment of rifles, blankets, tents and saddlery.

I came out by train to Moosomin, and drove north to Birtle, where I left a notice with Mr. Pentland, land agent there, asking for thirty men and horses to be ready for inspection in two days. I then drove north to Russell, and there put up a similar notice. By the 6th of April, I returned to Moosomin, with sixty men and horses, besides officers, orderlies, cooks, etc.—in all eighty-two men, including six teams for transport of provisions, equipment and forage. I had travelled in the six days two hundred and twenty miles by rail and one hundred and forty miles by road. I purchased all my horses in the district, at an average of $165.00 a piece, giving orders on the Hudson's Bay Company posts, at Fort Ellice and Russell, which were duly honoured.

I formed up at Moosomin, gave my men their mounts and equipment, and took the train for Qu'Appelle, one hundred and twenty miles farther west, there to march to join General Middleton's column, which was about one hundred miles on its way to Clarke's Crossing. When I arrived at Qu'Appelle, I divided my men into two troops, and appointed to be captain of the Russell troop Meopham Gardiner, from Brighton, England, who came with me to Manitoba in 1880, and had been my neighbour ever since. Mr. Pigott, son of General Pigott, who with his family had settled in the country three or four years previously, I made lieutenant. Captain Johnstone, of Seaforth,

Ontario, now of the village of Birtle, I appointed captain of the Birtle troop; with Mr. Gough, a nephew of Lord Gough, as lieutenant. Mr. Cox, a surveyor, from Buckinghamshire, England, I appointed quartermaster, and Dr. Rolston, late surgeon of the Royal Navy, surgeon. All my officers and men had been living on their homesteads, and now sacrificed the prospects of their season's crop to serve in the campaign.

General Middleton remained but twelve hours in Winnipeg. On the evening of the 27th of March, before leaving, he ordered the right wing of the 90th Battalion, under the command of Major Mackeand, to take the train for Fort Qu'Appelle, and gave instructions to the artillery to follow in the morning. The General accompanied these troops (numbering in all about 350 men) to Qu'Appelle station, and from there marched to Fort Qu'Appelle, eighteen miles further north, on the trail to Clarke's Crossing, where he organized his force.

Fort Qu'Appelle is one of the old established posts of the Hudson's Bay Company, and is prettily situated in a broad valley, with the Qu'Appelle lakes lying on each side of the fort. It is now the site of an enterprising town. These lakes form part of the Qu'Appelle River, so called from the echo that the valley produces. The officer of the Hudson's Bay Company in command of the post, is Archibald McDonald, a man of thirty years'

experience in the country, of great energy, and having a thorough knowledge of the Indian character, and possessing their confidence. His success in controlling the Indians contributed not a little to quiet the excitement among them in the neighbourhood; while to his energy was due much of the rapid movement which characterized the expedition in the first organization of the transport.

It was at Fort Qu'Appelle that General Middleton commenced the real preparations for the campaign; and one of its first necessities was the want of mounted men. Knowing that it would be some days before my troop could join him, he empowered Captain French, an Irish officer who had been in the Mounted Police, to raise a mounted force in the vicinity of Fort Qu'Appelle. This troop, with the 90th Rifles, under Major Mackeand, and the Winnipeg Field Battery, under Major Jarvis, constituted the General's force at that time. Soon afterwards it was reinforced by Colonel Montizambert, in command of "A" Battery, and a few days later by a detachment, of "C" School of Infantry, under Major Smith. With these forces the General determined to push on with all expedition to the scene of the rebellion; and he now developed the plan of the campaign.

As he explained it to me, General Middleton's original plan of campaign was to march his column from Fort Qu'Appelle to Clarke's Crossing. The second column,

under Otter, was to march from Swift Current to meet him at the Crossing; and from that point the two columns were to move down the river on both sides to attack Batoche. There he proposed to join the two columns, and march to relieve Prince Albert, then to relieve Battleford, and after punishing Poundmaker to proceed with a portion of his force to Fort Pitt. At this latter post he had ordered General Strange with his column to await his arrival, when it was his intention to attack Big Bear and release his prisoners. This plan was necessarily altered in consequence of the alarming reports received from Police Inspector Morris, at Battleford, of the danger the women and children were in. Learning of this, he now directed Colonel Otter to proceed straight to Battleford, and hold Poundmaker in check until he came up, while he marched with his own column to attack Riel in Batoche. These three columns were organized with great rapidity from the forces sent from the Eastern Provinces, and those raised in the Province of Manitoba, and the North-West Territory.

The troops from Quebec had a journey by rail of two thousand five hundred miles, and the troops from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had three thousand miles to get over before they arrived at the various points from which they were to march to occupy and protect the isolated and defenceless northern country.

Colonel Otter's column was composed of the Queen's Own Rifles, "B" Battery, under Major Short, a company of the Governor-General's Foot Guards from Ottawa, fifty Mounted Police, under Colonel Herchmer, and part of "C" School.

Before sketching the plan of the campaign, it is necessary to give a description of the country General Middleton was about to enter.

CHAPTER XI.

General Middleton's Advance.

About two hundred and fifty miles north of the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, is the north branch of the Saskatchewan River. This noble stream takes its rise in the Rocky Mountains. About forty miles east of Prince Albert, the south branch of the same river empties into the north branch, flowing from the south-west, where it is crossed by the Canadian Pacific Railway, at Medicine Hat. It flows past the headquarters of Riel, at Batoche, Clarke's Crossing and Saskatoon, the latter a pretty village that was afterwards used as an hospital. Both of these rivers are navigable at high water. On the north branch are posts of the Hudson's Bay Company, which, upwards of a century ago, were established for trading purposes by the rival fur companies. These posts have settlements around them, commencing with Prince Albert on the east. Forty miles farther west stands Fort Carlton; and one hundred miles west of that lies Battleford, at the junction of the Battle River and the Saskatchewan. One hundred miles farther west, on the North Saskatchewan, is situated Fort Pitt;

one hundred and fifty miles from the latter is Victoria and one hundred miles still farther west lies Edmonton, all on the same river. Numerous tribes of Indians hold their reserves in the neighbourhood of these posts, which are occupied by small bodies of Mounted Police. It was to these tribes of Indians that Riel sent his most pressing letters, to secure their co-operation, instructing them to rise, defeat the troops, and seize all the ammunition and provisions. He hoped that by being so far north, and the territory being difficult of access, troops could not reach him, and he would dictate his own terms.

In attempting to give a description of the operations, which were brought to so successful a completion within three months of the rebel outbreak, occupying long and arduous marches and fighting several battles, I will first follow the fortunes of the column under the immediate command of General Middleton.

The period of the year in which these columns had to undertake their marches was an inclement one. The snow was about leaving the prairie, when wet and slush prevail, when the frost comes out of the ground leaving stiff, muddy roads and sloughs filled with water, and when the winds blow cold and damp, making the difficulties of marching, and the exposure to soldiers unaccustomed to hardship a very trying and arduous task. Yet all was undertaken and overcome with little grumbling but with great cheerfulness and enthusiasm.

I arrived with my men at Fort Qu'Appelle on the 8th of April, having already met with one serious mishap. Mr. Maclurcan, whom I appointed lieutenant, was unfortunate enough, in handling a vicious horse in the stable, to get kicked and trampled upon so seriously that his life was despaired of. Throughout the campaign he was confined to the hospital at Winnipeg, where he slowly recovered.

I arrived at Qu'Appelle on the same day with the Grenadiers, under Colonel Grasett. Colonel Grasett is an officer who had gained his military experience in the 100th Regiment, and who had lately returned to his old home in Toronto. By the instructions of General Middleton the Grenadiers were ordered to the front, with teams to hasten their march and save the men. The call for transport at this time was enormous; but Major Bell was fully equal to the occasion. It shows the marvellous progress of the country within the last few years, that to transport these three columns fifteen hundred teams were available—the number at one time on the pay-roll of the Hudson's Bay Company—for the transport-corps, in addition to the teams necessary to carry on the agricultural operations of the country.

General Middleton, on his arrival at Fort Qu'Appelle, at once called for two hundred teams to convey the equipment, forage, and supplies for his column. This naturally created a "boom" for the farmers; and under the ener-

getic efforts of Archibald McDonald, of the Hudson's Bay Company, they were all procured in two days' time, at ten dollars per day and "found." A transport corps was organized by the General, under Mr. Bedson, Warden of the Manitoba Penitentiary, who took the direction-in-chief of the transport, assisted by Mr. Secretan. Major Bell, manager of the Bell Farm, in the Qu'Appelle Valley, remained at the base of operations, to see that all went right, and continue to engage transport for the daily rapidly-increasing necessities of the campaign.

Comment has been made upon the cost of this transport, but to those acquainted with the rapidity of the movement General Middleton deemed essential to the success of his expedition, and the scattered district from which the teams had to be collected, there is little occasion for criticism. It has also to be borne in mind that farmers were loth to leave their operations at a time when their whole summer's gains depended upon the early seeding of their land. The price, ten dollars per day, was therefore not excessive for the work that was demanded of them, and the exposure to which their horses would necessarily be subjected. Nor was the cost to the Government of the supplies and forage of the expedition much more than the early settlers who penetrated far into the interior were themselves called upon to pay. For two years I paid six dollars per bag for flour before our own crops came in. I paid one dollar and fifty cents per

bushel for oats, and occasionally two dollars per bushel for potatoes, and everything else in proportion. I mention this as an evidence of the difficulties that have to be overcome by the settler or by the soldier who penetrates a country unknown and unpopulated.

The General marched with his force at the rate of over twenty miles a day, an average which was maintained all the way to Clarke's Crossing, a distance of two hundred and ten miles. This, it will be said, is a remarkable record in the movement of troops. Colonel Grasett's regiment left on the morning of the 8th of April, and I was obliged to take a day at Qu'Appelle, to wait for a portion of my equipment that had not yet arrived from Winnipeg.

I was ordered by telegraph to use all possible speed, and I marched on the morning of the 9th, at the rate of thirty miles a day, to join the main column, covering the whole distance in seven days. To show the energy people are capable of in this country, I may say, that in sixteen days from the date of receiving instructions in Winnipeg, namely, between the 31st March and the 16th April, I was enabled to place a mounted force in the field, after visiting the farming districts, raising the men, purchasing the whole equipment, and making a march by land of three hundred and thirty miles, and by rail three hundred and sixty miles. The trail over which we had to march was muddy and wet, without bridges and with-

out improvements, and thirty miles of it was across the salt plain, unusually difficult in wet weather.

As an extreme example of the exposure, I might mention one incident that befel me on the second day's march. The freshets were high, and the previous night the thermometer had gone down to 15° below zero and frozen the streams over solid, but in the very centre, where the stream was rapid, the ice was thin. I was in front and leading my horse, feeling my way, when down I went up to my waist and my horse nearly on top of me. I scrambled out, and in a minute my clothes were frozen as hard as boards. It was five o'clock in the morning, and the thermometer, as I have said, 15° below zero. My clothes were so stiff that I had to be lifted on to my horse, and I rode in that condition for six miles, after making a detour to avoid this bad place, to a house where we were going to halt for breakfast, and where I was able to get a change of clothing and dry myself out. There is no exaggeration about the incident. During this halt, Dr. Rolston, our surgeon, tumbled down the cellar of the house, and narrowly escaped finishing his military career, and the same day poor Maclurcan was trampled on by a vicious horse. Need I say, that I was afraid my casualties were heaping up too fast?

My corps overtook General Middleton's column the day before the Grenadiers, with the horses in fairly good condition and the men in high spirits. The morning after,

we reached Clarke's Crossing, the ferry on the South Saskatchewan river, forty miles south of Batoche, upon the same river. General Middleton's march had been so rapid, and his force had increased so much, that he had got a little ahead of his transport. Although provisions were ample, forage was short, and there was no grass for the horses. At Clarke's Crossing, however, we were able to purchase sixty tons of hay, at fifty dollars a ton,—a "bonanza" for the farmers of the district.

When within a day and a half's march of Clarke's Crossing, and before we had reached it, General Middleton felt anxious about its safety. He fixed upon this point as a depôt for his supplies, and as the headquarters for his reinforcements, which were to come from Swift Current by boat, or from Fort Qu'Appelle by the trail we had followed. As the place was also on the main trail to Battleford, and on the telegraph line to the west, it became a strong objective point to reach and hold as a second base of operations. The General's anxiety was so great that, without waiting for his infantry, he took all the mounted men and one gun, and in one day made a rapid march of thirty-five miles, and reached the Crossing in the midst of a north-west blizzard.

On Saturday morning, the day after his arrival at the Crossing, the General ordered my corps out on a reconnaissance towards Batoche, under Lord Melgund, Captain French accompanying him as guide. After pro-

ceeding about seven miles, the first excitement of the campaign commenced. Two of my troopers, Fisher and Henderson, sighted some rebel scouts, who were running for "dear life." They chased them for about four miles, the rest of the corps in pursuit; but the rebels kept under the bank of the river, which was covered thickly with underbrush and trees, and when we thought we had them, after attempting to surround them, we found we hadn't them. They had slipped like eels from under our noses, when we had to take up the pursuit once more. Captain Gardiner and half a dozen others, however, brought the three Indians to bay in an opening, while they were crossing a deep gully. There they stood, back to back, their rifles pointed, with their fingers upon the triggers of their rifles; and we were at a loss how to capture them. One of my men, named Dunkin, volunteered to go down and speak to them. I told him to leave his rifle behind, that they might not suspect treachery. He went down to the bottom of the gully, which was about seventy feet deep, but the language he knew was not their language. Two more of my men, Neil and Lyons, followed, who knew other Indian dialects, and spoke to them, gave them some tobacco, and assured them that no harm would be done if they surrendered. But they steadfastly refused, and Lord Melgund ordered me to send down ten men to take them prisoners. Before I had time to do so, however, Captain French, who

was on the opposite side of the gully, went down, smoked their pipe, shook hands with them, and brought them up. I took their rifles from them, and sent trooper King to bring a transport-waggon to convey them to camp, in the meantime marching them along under a guard of six men. On our way out along the trail we picked up a piece of a newspaper, which Lord Melgund found fastened in a split stick, with pictures on it, resembling guns, evidently intended to convey intelligence to other scouts.

We marched with our first quarry about twelve miles to camp, which we reached amidst much excitement. After a thorough cross-questioning by the General, through an interpreter attached to my corps, as to what they knew and what their movements were, they were handed over to me. I placed them in a small tent, put up especially for their use, as they fought shy of the whole camp, fearing the soldiers. The officers purchased at "boom" prices all their trinkets, knives, pouches, necklaces, armlets, etc., and I doubt whether prisoners of war were ever better treated. Captain Haig, of the Royal Engineers, came to my tent and made sketches of them for the London *Graphic*. Two of them were the sons of "White Cap," the chief of the Sioux, whose reserve is near Saskatoon, and the third was a brother-in-law of the same chief. They said they had been down to the reserve from Batoche, to hut for their ponies, and when captured were on their

way back to join Riel. They described the entrenchments Riel had constructed, and told us the number of armed half-breeds and Indians he had with him. Riel, we learned, had been to Saskatoon, to White Cap's reserve, to get the Sioux chief to join him, at the same time seizing his cattle and horses. The settlers about Saskatoon, who were on friendly terms, and in constant intercourse with him and his band, asked White Cap not to go. White Cap replied that if they would help him to regain his cattle and ponies, he would not go, but otherwise he could not resist the half-breeds. The white settlers did not feel inclined to mix themselves up in the disturbances, and White Cap went his way. But under the circumstances the settlers considered White Cap blameless.

General Laurie, a half-pay officer of the British service, living in Halifax, who had accompanied General Middleton as far as Humboldt, returned to hasten the boats from Saskatchewan Landing, near Swift Current, as the General felt it was a risk to rely upon the muddy trail for reinforcements and supplies. The great rivers of the North-West take their source in, and are fed from, the Rocky Mountains, and do not depend upon the rains and drainage of the country. The water, therefore, does not rise to a sufficient height for deep laden vessels until the snowy peaks of the Rocky Mountains pour forth their torrents. In consequence, an annoying delay occurred in

the river transport. Notwithstanding these drawbacks the General determined to lose no time, but to push on with the force he had with him, trusting that the supports would soon get over the minor difficulties that presented themselves.

The General's present plan of attacking Riel in his stronghold was to divide his force, and march upon Batoche on both sides of the river. The information he had received underrated the strength of the enemy, and their determination to fight was doubted; so this disposal of the forces was more for the purpose of preventing the escape of the rebels. Subsequently learning that entrenchments had been prepared by Riel on both sides of the river at Batoche, the General concluded to advance as first agreed upon, and be prepared to attack the place from both sides. It took three days to transport across the river the Grenadiers, twenty of my corps, under command of the late Captain Brown (then a Sergeant), all of Captain French's men, the Winnipeg Field Battery, and a portion of "A" Battery, under the command of Colonel Montizambert, with Lord Melgund as chief of staff. The only means of crossing was a scow, of a rather ricketty description, worked by means of pullies and a wire rope, and propelled by the current. This was a tedious affair. All the teams and forage necessary were transported to the other side with difficulty, as the banks of the river at the landing, and for

some yards on each side, were composed of apparently bottomless mud.

General Middleton had with him his own telegraph operator with his instruments, whom he kept busy communicating his orders to the distant parts of the territory; regulating the movements of Colonel Otter's and General Strange's columns; and conducting the whole campaign, covering six or eight hundred miles of country. He had on his shoulders, besides the conduct of the campaign, the anxiety of the transport, upon which so much depended, and the safety of the various settlements throughout the country. Not a little of his troubles at this time arose from the pressing applications from all parts for protection, many of which were conceived in a speculative spirit, for the benefit that might be derived from the presence of the troops. In consequence, he had to sift the motives for these appeals, so as not to be misled or imposed upon. From the number of stories and unfounded rumours now current, he became sceptical as to the truth of any reports brought to him, causing him frequently to exclaim, "That is another of your nor'west'rs!" I can here testify to the prudence, caution, and penetration of General Middleton in all his actions.

On the morning of the 23rd of April, seven days after our arrival at Clarke's Crossing, everything was ready for an advance. Signalling parties had been practising during this time, from both sides of the river, to telegraph

information between the two columns as they marched parallel to one another. In addition to the day-signalling, Major Jarvis and Captain Peters organized a corps of signalmen for night-work, by means of the ordinary bugle sounds, upon the phonetic principle. Lord Melgund, in an enterprising spirit, had the day before made a reconnaissance for ten miles north, on the left bank of the river, and discovered scouts watching our movements. He gave chase, and exchanged shots with them; but the scouts disappeared, and the party returned to camp. In this reconnaissance the Hon. C. Fiennes and Gifford, of Capt. French's scouts, and Fisher and King, of my corps, distanced their comrades and took part in the exciting chase.

On Thursday morning, the 23rd of April, both columns marched simultaneously from Clarke's Crossing. My corps, now reduced to forty armed men, constituted the advance guard of the right column, the remainder going with the left. The order of march was a line of sixteen scouts, covering half a mile of front, fifty yards apart from one another. Thomas Selby and E. Little acted on this occasion as pivot men, taking the right and left ofthe trail, that the remainder of the scouts might move with them, and with the head of the column. These two men kept the same position throughout the campaign, performing their duties intelligently and faithfully. I marched with the remainder of my men on the trail, about two hun-

dred and fifty yards in rear of the advance scouts. About three hundred yards in rear of us came the advance guard of the 90th, consisting of a file followed by the usual formation; and some three hundred yards in rear of them came the column, followed by the transport, with about two hundred teams. I told off two men to march on the flank of the General wherever he might move. Generally, however, he marched in front of me, at the head of my men, with his two A.D.C.'s and Captain Haig, of the Royal Engineers. The scow, with the wire rope, and a party on board, floated down the stream to accompany the columns, and to be ready for use should the necessity arise for either column to cross the river.

Our noon halt was similar in every day's routine: the column formed up in companies, piled their arms, fatigue-parties rushed off for wood and water, and in a trice fires were lit, and the boiling of tea and unpacking of hard tack and canned beef were proceeded with. After an hour and an half's rest, and the solace of the brier-root, the fall-in sounded once more. During the halt we remained in advance with videttes out, acting as sentries, to give the alarm if such should be necessary. The A.D.C. conveyed the word to continue our march to the evening camping-ground. There was the same routine every day.

An interesting sight to the uninitiated is the formation of a zareba or corral, for the protection of the transport.

It is formed by the teams following one another, under the direction of the transport officer, round and round in a circle, the leading team turning inwards and each team in succession forming up alongside, until an impenetrable wall of waggons presents itself to the enemy. The camp is pitched in front, with the mounted men on the right, the artillery next, the infantry next, with the headquarter staff in rear. The column bivouacked for the night eighteen miles from Clarke's Crossing, and twenty-two miles from Batoche. The General intended to make a second day's march to Gabriel Dumont's Crossing, within six miles of Batoche. He ordered me to continue my march and make a reconnaissance in front. I advanced in the same order for about three miles and a-half without observing anything unusual, until I came to a house where I found a lot of forage, consisting of barley and oats, with half a dozen Red River carts in front of the door. I returned to camp about six o'clock in the evening, picketed the horses and pitched the tents, and reported to the General the result of my reconnoissance.

Strong pickets were mounted under the command of Lieutenant Hugh J. Macdonald (son of Sir John Macdonald) and Lieutenant Laurie; and at half-past nine o'clock, being field officer of the day, I waited upon General Middleton, who invariably visited the sentries and pickets himself every night before retiring. He took unusual pains on this occasion, instructing the sentries, officers,

and non-commissioned officers in charge, regarding their duties, and was fully two hours going the rounds, not returning to camp till half past eleven oclock. In the meantime, as forage was short, Colonel Houghton, the Deputy Adjutant-General, thought it advisable to secure the forage I had reported seeing on my reconnaissance, more especially as we were told by a farmer, near whose house we were camped, that the carts belonged to the enemy, and were evidently there for the purpose of removing the forage. I told off twenty of my men, under Captain Gardiner, with Quartermaster Cox, and with twenty of the 90th, under Captain Clarke, Colonel Houghton went to secure the needed supplies. Though the night was dark, and the enemy were watching their proceedings from a short distance off, the forage was secured, and the party returned to the camp unmolested. We heard afterwards that it was Gabriel Dumont's intention to attack the camp that night, and Colonel Houghton's enterprise no doubt assisted in causing them to change their plans. At any rate, they must have observed that we were well on the alert, although up to this time we had no idea that they were so close, or that they intended making a stand on the morrow. I visited my rounds once more at half-past one, after the return of Colonel Houghton's expedition, and found the sentries keenly alive and watchful. Our quartermaster secured half the forage as his share of the night's spoils.

CHAPTER XII.

Fish Creek.

Next day, reveillé sounded before daylight, and the camp was all astir, breakfasting and striking tents, and loading up for our march. We little thought that before sunset many of our comrades would find a soldier's grave, sacrificing their lives to uphold the integrity of their country. We started the day's march in our usual order, with sixteen scouts out skirmishing to the front, under the command of Captain Johnston. I took the precaution of making five of my men, who were dismounted on account of used-up horses, march in rear of my troop. We moved off at half-past six o'clock, with General Middleton, Captain Wise and Captain Doucet, A.D.C.'s, and Mr. McDowall, of Prince Albert, in front. Mr. Chambers, the war correspondent of the Montreal *Star*, an enterprising civilian, marched alongside Captain Gardiner and myself, then came our twenty mounted and five dismounted men immediately behind us. The column followed in the usual formation, the head of the advance-guard being about four hundred yards in our rear. We advanced about four miles.

The first unusual thing we came across was a house with all the windows smashed, where destruction was clearly intended. It was the property of a Mr. McIntosh, whose brother's place we had just left. Grain was lying about here and there, as if placed to feed horses, in which operation the enemy had but a short time before been evidently disturbed. We spent a few minutes examining the premises, which was fortunate for the General and for us, as it gave the scouts in front an opportunity of getting a little further in advance, and thus giving the General so much more warning of the presence and intended action of the enemy.

We had hardly left this house, to proceed on our way, when Captain Johnston, commanding the advanced scouts, reported to me that he had struck thirteen camp-fires still warm, and a heavy trail leading away from them. I reported the circumstance to the General, who told me to obtain further information. I then ordered Captain Johnston to take the leading section, follow up the trail, and report to me. We meantime marched on.

They had not been gone many minutes when I heard, bang! bang! and immediately after, a volley was fired at us, which, however, struck the trees in front. I gave the command "Left wheel, gallop!" and we charged down upon thirty or forty mounted men who were standing in the shelter of a bluff. When we came upon them they at once turned their horses and bolted for a ravine, or

gully, about a hundred and fifty yards distant, dismounting as they galloped. I instantly gave the word to my men, "Halt! Dismount! Extend in skirmishing order, and lie down!" Simultaneously, the enemy, who were in the ravine and out of sight, opened a murderous fire upon us. I said, "Fire away, boys, and lie close; never mind if you don't see anything, fire;"—my object being to keep the enemy down in the gully and hold them in check till the supports came up. The rebels would pop up from the ravine, take a snap shot, and disappear in an instant. The General at once sent back Captain Wise, A.D.C., to hurry up the main body, in which duty his horse was shot. We here sustained the whole of the enemy's fire, which was very hot, and unfortunately fatal. Captain Gardiner, who was beside me, was the first to say, "Major! I am hit." Almost immediately, Langford called out that he was hit. Bruce was the next victim. Then poor D'Arcy Baker called out, "Oh, Major! I'm hit!" as he received his death-wound by a bullet crashing into his breast. Then Gardiner called out, "I am hit again!" Langford, too, was wounded a second time. I told the wounded to drag themselves to the rear the best way they could and get out of further danger; ordering the remainder to hold on and fire away.

The anxiety of the moment, hearing the groans of my comrades and the continuous and disastrous fire of the enemy, was very great. But to have allowed the breeds

to come up from the ravine upon the approaching supports, I felt, would have been so fatal, that I kept my men firing away, and I looked anxiously back for the arrival of the infantry, which, when we attacked the rebels, was half a mile in our rear.

The scouts who were extended in skirmishing order, and who had been in advance of the column, now began to gallop in. They attacked the enemy from other points, which tended somewhat to draw their fire from us. But so far, having sustained little damage, the enemy were becoming bolder, and one brave came out in full view at the top of the bank, and danced a war-dance for the purpose of stimulating his comrades. He was, however, promptly disposed of by a bullet from Sergeant Stewart's rifle, which effectually prevented any further foolish exposures, for the half-breeds now kept themselves well under shelter of the ravine.

Feeling certain that in a few minutes all the horses would be slaughtered, I had ordered them to be let loose to save them, and they went galloping back to the rapidly approaching column. The first detachment came up in about fifteen minutes, during which we managed to keep the enemy in check and under cover of the gully. Captain Clark's company of the 90th was the first to come up, and he himself was one of the earliest victims, among the riflemen, of the rebel bullets. "C" School of Infantry, under Major Smith, arrived about the

same time, and next came the artillery, which was speedily brought into action, Captain Drury opening fire upon the enemy over our heads. The remainder of the troops marched up in rapid succession, the enemy the while keeping up a hot fire from the ravine, only exposing themselves for an instant as they took a snap shot.

The ravine at this point forms an angle, the left arm of which descends almost perpendicularly to the bottom. Both bank and bottom were densely covered with bush, and this formed an excellent protection for the rebels along the course of the ravine, and up and down the stream. The flat is about a hundred yards broad, through which the stream, about ten feet in width, meanders. The abrupt banks are five or six feet high, and were covered with long grass and occasional willow bushes, forming a second protection for the rebels, as they stood up to their waists in water in the bed of the stream. Stretched along this ravine, occupying a tract a quarter of a mile in length, the enemy lay, some two hundred and fifty strong. At the beginning of the engagement they had their horses, to the number of about a hundred, tied up to the trees in the bottom of the ravine, showing that they evidently did not expect defeat, and that they intended to entrap General Middleton's column as it crossed by the trail. The formation of the column, by the line of scouts that had always preceded our advance, precluded the possibility of a surprise. So, instead of the enemy drawing

us into a trap, they got themselves into that position, little thinking that the General's movements would bring him and the force so early to the spot, or that our advance would be so well protected. Fifty-five of the enemy's horses were shot before the day was over, causing as much sorrow to the half-breeds as the loss of their comrades. The horses they had when they fired at us first were allowed to run loose when the rebels jumped off their backs, and some of my men, while under fire, captured fourteen of them, and tied them up in a bluff to await the close of the battle.

The companies of the 90th, under Colonel Mackeand, arrived in quick succession, General Middleton directing them. Two companies of this battalion ("B" and "C," under Captains Ruttan and Wilkes) under command of Major Boswell, were ordered to advance to the left where an attempt was being made to out-flank us. With a few of the men left we joined Major Buchan, who was in command of three other companies of the 90th (under Captains Forest, Worsnip, and Whitla), and Major Smith, in command of "C" School of Infantry. Our object was to defeat a flanking movement of the enemy on our right.

The same tactics displayed by the half-breeds with Major Crozier at the Duck Lake fight were being pursued here, and an attempt was made to enclose us on three sides. But the steadiness of the troops, who advanced

without flinching, and with a well-directed, independent fire, checked this attempt, and confined the enemy to their snap-firing, as they popped up above the crest of the embankment for an instant. This snap-firing, however, was well-directed as well as murderous upon all the troops engaged, one poor fellow after another falling, some killed outright, and some to be consigned to the tediousness of the hospital. The General could be seen moving from one flank to the other, directing, urging and commanding, with the utmost coolness, and eliciting the admiration of some and the dismay of others lest a stray bullet should deprive the force of the Commander upon whom so much now depended.

The enemy were soon made to feel that an attack upon so large a front, showing such determination and obstinacy, was greater than they had calculated upon, although up to this time I doubt if they had sustained much loss. The position cannot be better described than by reciting an incident which Captain Gardiner relates,—"As he was dragging himself to the rear, after having received his second wound, one of the 90th, then coming up, called out to him, 'Say, Chummy, are you hit?' 'Yes.' 'Where are they, anyway? I can't see them! This is new to me; I was never at this kind of thing before.'"

The artillery opened fire upon a house on the opposite side of the ravine, where some of the rebels were to be seen moving about, and were made to scatter in all

directions. Meanwhile a few of my men, with some of the 90th and several dismounted artillerymen, had crept up to the angle before referred to, where the bank was precipitous, and here they commanded a view of the ravine looking east, while under cover of a slight rise at the crest. Having safely gained this vantage-ground, Lieut. Ogilvie brought his gun to bear and raked the whole flat with good effect. The heaviest casualties of the artillery occurred here, as the rebels tried to silence their fire. But the gunners nobly did their duty; one man after another, as his comrade was picked off, being ready to take his place. Lieut. Ogilvie sighted his gun and fired in rapid succession, and soon let the enemy know that it was no longer a safe place for them, although he was not able to sufficiently depress his piece to reach the rebels who were immediately under the steep embankment. Gunner Armsworth was killed at the gun, and out of eighty-six men belonging to this battery fourteen fell, dead or wounded, nobly doing their duty, while taking an important part in the battle which up to this time had been so hotly contested. The artillery action cleared the ravine in front of us, though not before Ferguson, Ennis, and Hutchinson, of the 90th, and Watson of "C" School, had been killed, and many others wounded.

We gradually crept up to the ravine on the right, private Dunn, of the 90th, being the first to gallantly cross the open on my calling for a volunteer to see if our

immediate front was clear. With some of the 90th, under Lieut. Hugh J. Macdonald, a portion of "C" School, and a few of my men, we advanced across the ravine and entered the bush on the opposite side; while Major Buchan and Major Smith, with the remainder of the force on this flank, extended further up the ravine to the right.

About this time we saw forty or fifty men, some of whom were mounted, retiring up the ravine, about half a mile away. We afterwards learned that they were under the command of Gabriel Dumont, who graphically described his position at this time in his official report of the battle he made to Riel, which was found among the rebel chief's papers on his hasty retreat after the capture of Batoche. He therein states that seeing there was necessity for reinforcements, he deemed it his duty to return to Batoche to obtain them, and left the scene of the battle about ten o'clock on the morning of the fight. Some of the 90th opened fire on Dumont's party with their Martini-Henry rifles, and Captain Drury directed his gun on a house to which they retired, about fifteen hundred yards off, and set it on fire with the second shot. The General now ordered us to withdraw across the gully, and, with Major Buchan, who had been ordered to retire from the right, we now joined the centre attack.

While what we have described had been occurring on the right, Colonel Houghton, with Major Boswell, and "B"

and "C" companies of the 90th, had attacked the left flank, causing the retreat of a portion of the enemy down the ravine to escape in that direction. The casualties on our left were as great as in other parts of the field, for the men had crossed the ravine, under the immediate command of the General, and cleared the front on that flank, afterwards returning and taking up a position on the brow of the hill, below which the rebels made the first stand.

About this time the fire of the enemy considerably slackened, and their comrades at this point discovered that they had been deserted by the main body to the right and left of them. But the firing was resumed with great vigour when they found that it now became necessary for them to sell their lives as dearly as possible.

An attempt was here made to clear the bush at the bottom of the angle of the ravine, which was humourously described as "the hornet's nest." With this object, Captain Ruttan, with his company of the 90th, and Captain Peters, with the dismounted artillery, descended to the bed of the creek. The former crossed it, and pushed into the bush, while the latter advanced up the right bank. But the enemy retired through the bush, keeping out of sight and picking off the advancing troops, so that they had to take up a position, under cover, in the bed of the creek, where they were joined shortly after by Colonel Houghton and Captain Wise, with reinforcements. At

the same time, eight of my men under Quartermaster Cox, with a few of the artillery and 90th, co-operated by attempting to advance over the brow; but all were obliged to retire with several casualties. DeManolly, of the artillery, was killed, and Perrin, Thompson, King, and Sergeant Stewart, of my corps, were wounded. At the bottom of the ravine, Lieut. Swinford received his death wound, and Wheeler of the 90th, and Cook, of the artillery, were killed. Captain Wise, A.D.C., was wounded at this time, and many other casualties also occurred. A gun was brought up to cover the retirement of this advanced line, which, though it failed, was a gallant attempt to clear out "the hornet's nest."

The General shortly afterwards sent Captain Drury with a gun (supported by his own men, and by "C" School, under Major Smith), across the ravine to the left, to shell the apparently impregnable position. Though the range was too close to effect much with a shell, Captain Drury for a time silenced the enemy's fire. Nor could the infantry accomplish much, as the rebels, while the gun was operated, lay at the bottom of their rifle pits, secure from harm. It was simply impossible to see anything of them to fire at. One gunner was wounded here, and my horse was shot from under me, while I was standing beside the gun.

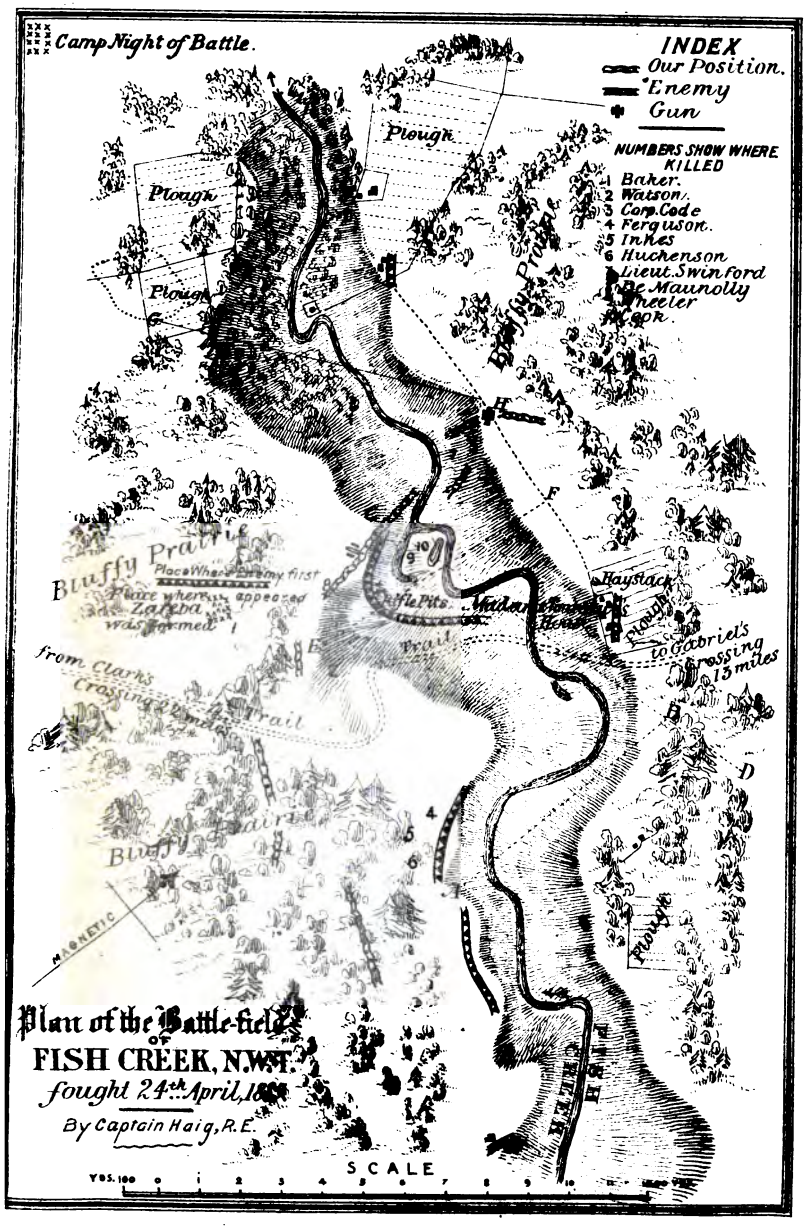
While this was going on, the column under Colonel Montizambert and Lord Melgund, some two miles distant

on the left bank of the river, heard the heavy firing and the rage of battle proceeding, and their chagrin at not being with us was very great. But they vigorously set to work to make preparations to cross ; and, happily, Gen. Middleton's foresight, in bringing the ferry with the wire rope from Clarke's Crossing, gave them the means of doing so. But, before a crossing could be effected, oars had to be hewn out of the poplar timber, as the wire rope could not be speedily stretched ; and the scow was rowed over the current, a tedious operation. Many of the men, in their eagerness to cross, were anxious to swim over, not knowing what was happening, and, fearing the danger our small column might be exposed to. One can well imagine their feelings as they were forced to listen to the fire of artillery and the rattle of musketry for several hours before they could ascertain the cause or the result. However, by the combined exertions of Colonel Grasett, Major Jarvis, Captain French, Lord Melgund, and Colonel Montizambert, the officers in command of the various corps forming the left column, a crossing was effected, and early in the afternoon a portion of the Grenadiers, under Colonel Grasett, and the Winnipeg Field Battery, with Colonel Montizambert and Lord Melgund, immediately marched up to the scene of action. By this time the battle may be said, however, to have been over, for the enemy had all retreated, excepting the small detachment hidden in the narrow angle of the

ravine. Protected by their rifle-pits and the woods, like rats in a hole, there they were, completely surrounded and preparing to sell their lives as dearly as possible. The Grenadiers now relieved some of the companies of the 90th, and took up the position so gallantly held by the Winnipeg Rifles.

The question now was: "Will the surrounded rebels be cleaned out by a charge upon their position?" and an appeal was made to the General to decide the question. With characteristic humanity, the General, however, replied: "No, it will cost more lives, and I have lost too many already; their capture will not affect the work of the day." The men who had borne the brunt of the battle were ready to undertake the task; Colonel Grasett and his men were also anxious to take part in the day's work, and to bring it to a decisive conclusion; while Capt. Mason of the 10th volunteered the services of his company. But the General was obdurate. Knowing the determined character of the men we had to deal with, and the difficulties of approaching them through bush and brush to find their whereabouts, there is no doubt that had the charge been made many more valuable lives would have been sacrificed to gain a slight advantage. The General's good sense in refusing to make the charge was therefore to be commended.

No greater bravery, heroism, devotion to duty, or discipline could be expected from any troops, than was



Plan of the Battle-field of FISH CREEK, N.W.T. fought 24th April, 18[illegible]

By Captain Haig, R.E.

manifested at this unequal fight at Fish Creek. There was no wavering, no thought of a retreat, but rather a dogged determination to hold their ground, under the galling fire of an unseen enemy. The critics who sympathize with the rebels have tried to represent that with the superior arms and the superior numbers of General Middleton's force, no other result was to be expected over the foe. But without wishing to disparage the bravery of the enemy, it is well to remember that on this occasion the actual fighting force which took part in the battle did not exceed three hundred. The rear-guard, the orderlies, and the non-combatants of the force, with few exceptions, were ordered to remain in rear to protect the transport. Gabriel Dumont, over his own signature, on the other hand, acknowledges to having had two hundred and eighty men on the rebel side, which I feel sure, from what I saw and heard, was below the number. Besides this force, the enemy had the advantage of knowing the country, and had selected a naturally strong position, rendered still more strong by their ingeniously constructed rifle-pits. Moreover, every man of them had been accustomed from boyhood to the use of fire-arms, by which numbers of them live. Out of our three hundred men engaged, one officer and nine men were killed, and four officers and thirty-eight men were wounded, besides minor casualties which were never reported.

Individual instances of heroism were not wanting to make up the brillant record of the fight; but as it is not my place to distinguish them, I shall leave it to their comrades, in recalling the memories of this eventful day for Canada, to mark them out for special admiration.

Out of my total strength, which was forty armed men, mounted and dismounted, D'Arcy Baker received a death-hurt, and seven others were severely wounded. About the same percentage of the other forces engaged fell during the day, besides Captain Wise and Lieutenant Doucet, the General's two A. D. C.'s, both of whom were severely wounded, and the General himself came off with a bullet hole through his fur cap.

Major Buchan, of the 90th, was the first to arrive, after the fight commenced, and writing shortly after to a friend, thus describes the opening of the battle :—

"Volley after volley broke the stillness of the clear morning. Vaulting into my saddle—for I had been walking quietly along with my horse's bridle over my arm—and passing the various sections of the advanced guard, who were already extending for attack, I galloped to the front. When I got around the curve on the trail and came to the edge of the bluffs, where a plain opened, a terrible sight was before me. Riderless horses were scattered about, half a dozen or so of them struggling in death's agonies. Some wounded scouts endeavoured to crawl to the rear, while the remainder were lying flat and briskly returning the fire of the enemy, who were unseen, save by the puffs of smoke which came from the further side of the plain, but whose presence was made

very manifest by the whizzing "zip" and "ping" of the bullets as they flew over our heads. My appearance was the signal for a volley at myself, which made me realize, as I did all through the day, that mounted officers were the enemy's special targets. The men extended in good shape as they came up, and immediately opened fire from an advantageous position on the edge of the scrub, and gradually crept forward towards the enemy, while the wounded scouts crawled back behind the first bluff in front of which were our fellows. Not five minutes afterwards, Capt. Clark of "F" company was struck, as he was kneeling in the scrub directing the fire of his sharpshooters. Presently the guns of "A" Battery came up, and Capt. Peters opened fire, dropping his shells with splendid effect. The roar of the cannon and the scream of the bursting shells gave encouragement to those engaged on our side and evidently dismayed the enemy."

Towards four o'clock in the afternoon, the General ordered the firing to cease, and the small body of the enemy still remaining were only too well satisfied to abandon the conflict. Comparative quietness now reigned, and an opportunity was given the doctors to attend to the wounded, among whom they had already been busy. Dr. Orton, M.P., brigade surgeon; Dr. Rolston, of my troop; Dr. Grant, of the artillery; Dr. Whiteford, of the 90th, were all doing their best to relieve the distressed and suffering men. They were moderately well-prepared with instruments and bandages, although, not being accustomed to war or expecting such calls upon their resources, they were somewhat deficient. A corral, about six hundred yards from the ravine, had been formed of

the transport by Mr. Bedson, assisted by Mr. Secretan, and in the centre of this an hospital was improvised. The casualty list was anxiously conned, and was found to amount to eight killed, and forty-four wounded.

The war correspondents, Mr. Chambers, of the Montreal *Star;* Mr. Ham, of the Toronto *Mail* and the Winnipeg *Times;* Mr. Davis, R.M.C., of the Toronto *Globe* and the Winnipeg *Free Press;* Mr. Johnstone, of the St. Paul *Pioneer Press,* and Mr. Flynn, of the Winnipeg *Sun,* were now busily engaged completing their hastily written reports, conveying information of the fight to the people of Canada, whose anxiety was great to know the fate of their friends among the troops, and whose hearts were to be torn by the sad news.

The General ordered me to supply two couriers for the conveyance of despatches to the telegraph station at Clarke's Crossing, twenty-four miles distant. The honour of bearing these despatches fell to Sergeant Dalton and Corporal Marriott, and the correspondents took advantage to send by them their accounts of the engagement. I sent a telegram to my wife, to acquaint our friends of the result of the day,—being off the line of communication,—so that no unfounded rumours might distress them. Before the following night it was received, the message having travelled twenty-four miles from Fish Creek at our end, and sixty miles by road to Russell at

the other end, which, it will be admitted, is remarkable despatch.

The General had now to determine what his next best course should be. But his first anxiety was for the wounded. He instructed Lord Melgund and Capt. Haig to select a suitable camping-ground in the neighbourhood, which would at the same time protect the crossing of the remainder of the troops from the left bank of the river, and be safe from surprise. They found an open space, about half a mile to the left of the battle-ground, near the Saskatchewan, and close to the gully of Fish Creek, which there empties into the river.

The wounded were conveyed thither in the ambulance, the transport next, and then the troops were gradually withdrawn from the scene of conflict. Thus ended the most severe battle that the Canadian soldiery of the present day have had to fight.

Had we had supports, the day might have been carried with less loss of life by a charge on the enemy's position at the commencement of the fighting; but the men lacked the experience they gained after the battle of Batoche. Apart from this fact, however, it would have been too risky with so small a force at disposal to have charged down into the ravine, without reinforcements to fall back upon.

The Grenadiers were the last to leave the field towards dusk. When they had got about three hundred yards

from the battle-field, a party of about fifty horsemen came out of the woods on the opposite side of the ravine and gave their war-whoop These were evidently the reinforcements Gabriel Dumont had sent down from Batoche, for they did not show themselves while the troops were on the field. The word was given, "right-about-turn," and the troops were returning to the battle-field, when the enemy once more disappeared in the bush. As the General determined to pursue the attack no further, the order was once more given to march into camp.

We all went into camp, and put out strong pickets and sentries, which, after the fatigue of the day, was no light task for tired officers and men to perform. But it was done with cheerful alacrity and steadiness. Our night duty consisted in furnishing a mounted patrol, which every two hours circled the camp outside the pickets.

This was the most risky duty the mounted men had to perform. We kept from a quarter of a mile to half a mile outside the pickets, and had to run the gauntlet of every sentry and answer to their challenges. The sentries performed their duties with a great degree of faithfulness. Lord Melgund, going the rounds one very dark night, was met by, "Who goes there?" "Rounds." "What rounds?" "Grand rounds." "Stand, Grand rounds, and put up your hands," and the sentry came down to the

charge. Lord Melgund called out, "Come to the port, sir." The sentry's reply was, "No, you don't," until he became convinced that he was not being taken in by a deceitful enemy. On another occasion the patrol came and woke me up about one o'clock in the morning, and told me that one of the sentries had drawn a bead on them, and that the sentries' orders were to shoot at sight. I had to get up and go and see that the orders were corrected. This was after we had joined General Strange's men, in our chase after Big Bear, and when the sentries who were on piquet the first night we joined forces had not been accustomed to the mounted patrol. This duty General Middleton always required to be performed, and hearing my patrol moving through the dark, they took them for Indians, and very nearly fired upon them.

One sad but necessary duty had on the following day to be performed—the burial of the poor fellows who had been sent to their last home by the fatal bullets of the enemy. Wrapped up in their blankets, the bodies were placed on stretchers, and mournfully the troops followed them to their last resting-place, the General reading the burial service in an impressive and solemn manner. Their graves were covered up, and a sketch made of the position in which they lay, for the benefit of their friends. The General, before dismissing the troops to their separate parades, addressed them in these brief but affecting words: "Men! your comrades did their duty and

have nothing to regret." D'Arcy Baker, not sinking till the day after the battle, was buried the following morning beside his comrades in arms. Before leaving the camp a hundred waggon loads of stone were hauled, and a huge cairn, surmounted by a wooden cross, was erected over the spot where lay in honour their country's dead.

Two nights after the battle of Fish Creek, we were alarmed by the report of a rifle and the summons, "Guard, turn out!" The whole camp was astir at once, and, in the most orderly and self-possessed manner, fell-in on their parade-grounds within three minutes from the first alarm. The General, who was on horseback in a moment, rode off to visit the pickets and ascertain the cause of alarm. Three mounted men were reported as having been seen approaching the near picket, and not answering to the challenge the sentry fired, but nothing more was heard of them. After half an hour's anxious wondering the troops were turned in.

At dawn I was awakened by a stranger, a transport-officer, who related his adventures of the past night. It appears that he was in charge of thirty-five transport-waggons loaded with supplies from Humboldt, and just in time discovered that he was on the wrong trail and marching straight into the enemy's camp. At six o'clock the previous night he had left the teams formed up for defence, to try and find our whereabouts, and struck the camp about one o'clock in the morning. This was the

cause of the alarm. Not knowing whether we were friends or foes, he refused to answer to the challenge, and on hearing the whiz of the bullets, dismounted and lay down on the prairie till daybreak. He now wanted an escort to go off and convoy his teams into camp, which the General ordered me to furnish, and we arrived back in safety with the waggons, about six o'clock in the evening.

Poor D'Arcy Baker, who was lying severely wounded in one of the hospital tents, on hearing the shots fired at this night alarm, raised himself up, called for his horse and rifle, staggered to the door of the tent, and fell dead from the exhaustion of his efforts. The following lines on the gallant trooper's death, from the pen of Mr. Murdock, of Birtle, indicate the sympathy of our friends :

"My rifle and my horse," the soldier said,
As forth with vigorous step he quickly came ;
On his young brow the morning sunlight play'd,
And life was centered in his active frame.

By winding streams 'far o'er the plain we go,
Where dark ravines and woody bluffs appear,
Where'er a swarthy, treacherous Indian foe
May hide, to burst upon our flashing rear.

'Tis ours to guard the friends who come behind,—
'Tis ours to find and search the dangerous shade ;
Perchance our lives we lose, but never mind,
When duty calls let no man be afraid.

The sulphurous smoke is drifting to the sky,
And horse and rider on the plain are spread ;
The ambushed foe, in sullen terror fly,
The bold and brave are now amongst the dead.

With shattered heart, the stricken soldier lies,
The fatal wound has almost ceased to bleed ;
The dying warrior vainly seeks to rise,
And begs once more, his rifle and his steed.

Forever more the youthful limbs are still,
The young, the gallant, and impulsive brave
Now rests beside the far-off western hill,
And wild flowers blossom by his lonely grave.

The General now resolved to place his left column again on the other side of the river. It took two days to complete the crossing, and when that was accomplished there was nothing to relieve the routine of camp-life which now set in. The infantry took advantage of the time to drill their men and to instruct them in the various military duties which they were daily called upon to perform. Our time was more actively employed in furnishing escorts to hay trains and transports, and in sending couriers with the General's despatches, which were frequent and on long distances, as we were twenty miles from the telegraph station. Gunner Wood, our excellent telegraph operator, soon laid a field-line, however, into the camp from across the river, where the wires ran on the way to Prince Albert.

The General went over on Sunday morning to visit the scene of battle; and the fight of Friday was had over again in the vivid descriptions of individual experiences. The houses were all deserted, and left evidences of a hurried flight having taken place. We found the dead bodies of three Indians, which, with the eight killed and

the eleven wounded that Gabriel Dumont, in his official report to Riel, stated were his casualties, made up the total loss of the rebels. The shelter of the ravine had reduced their casualties very much below ours, who had to fight in the open and exposed prairie.

There was, of course, a little sadness in camp on account of the death of so many comrades, and this was deepened by the receipt of the news of the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Kennedy, of the 90th Battalion of Winnipeg Rifles, who at the time of the outbreak of the Rebellion was in Egypt in connection with the brigade of Canadian boatmen, formed for the transport service. As soon as the news of the insurrection reached him he started to join his own regiment, which he had raised only the previous year, and made all haste to return to Canada. It had been arranged that he was to be received by the Queen at Windsor, on his way through England, but stricken with smallpox almost at the moment of his arrival, he lingered only a few days, to die far from his own home. Colonel Kennedy left behind him a name honoured and respected not only among the people of his own Province and the Dominion, but by all who had followed his career and noted the brilliant services he rendered the Mother Country during the Soudan campaign. The news of his death was a deep shock to all ranks in his battalion, who had eagerly looked forward to his soon joining them; but not only

was the gallant Colonel's death felt by his own regiment, but by all those who had the opportunity of knowing and appreciating his manly qualities. His funeral, in England, was attended by representatives of the most prominent personages in the land, and by some of the highest officers in the service; and I am happy to say that in appreciation of his important services to the nation, the Imperial Government has granted a handsome pension to his widow and children. The Provincial Government also, wishing to show the appreciation which Manitoba had for so valiant a son, created a new precedent in the Civil Service, by appointing Mrs. Kennedy to the position of Registrar in the city of Winnipeg, which had been held by her husband.

The General now awaited the arrival of the steamboat, which had left Saskatchewan Landing, near Swift Current, but was much delayed by low water. He was anxious to send the wounded away by it to the village of Saskatoon, some forty miles up the river, on the other side of Clarke's Crossing, whose inhabitants had written to say that they would be pleased to give their houses for their accommodation, and that their wives and daughters would nurse the wounded. But the boat was so long in coming that the General was obliged after all to send them by road. Through the ingenious invention of the chief transport officer, rude ambulances were made out of the transport waggons, by stretching across them the hides

of the cattle we had killed; and on the 2nd day of May I was ordered to escort them to Clarke's Crossing, where they were to be met by representatives from the settlement at Saskatoon. The wounded were accompanied by Drs. Orton and Rolston, and the day after their arrival at Saskatoon, Dr. Roddick, with his staff and excellent hospital outfit, arrived and took them in charge, where, by all accounts, the arrangements for their comfort were perfect. The kindness and hospitality of the settlers of Saskatoon were at once supplemented by experienced nurses under the excellent superintendence of Nurse Miller, of the Winnipeg General Hospital.

I might here state that all the arrangements for conducting the campaign were excellent. The troops were never once without the most liberal rations, and all of good quality. The transport, though costly, did its work well; and with the exception of the two days at Clarke's Crossing, never failed to bring up the most liberal supplies of forage and rations.

I might here also remark upon the excellence of our mail arrangements. Soldiers' letters went free, and two or three mails a week arrived, bringing the greatest solace to the soldier far from home. The newspapers were eagerly scanned for information, especially when the first news came back to us of the battle of Fish Creek. Mr. Nursey, who is a bombardier when he is soldiering, and Provincial Auditor when he is not, was our obliging post-

master. The only thing that put him out was when every man in camp came to ask him each evening when the mail was going out or had it come in. He was assisted by one of the Honourable Mr. Norquay's sons, two of whom were with the column, one in the fighting ranks, the other in the post-office. The thanks of the whole force are due to the Postmaster General for the liberal postal arrangements he made for the troops.

On the 4th of May the General had a brigade parade, with the view of practising his troops, which lasted for several hours. On the 5th we made a reconnaissance towards Batoche, under the personal command of the General, accompanied by Lord Melgund. The reconnoitring force consisted of my own and Captain French's men. We marched in the usual formation, with sixteen mounted skirmishers well to the front. We found all the houses completely deserted, everything being left as they were, excepting blankets, which the half-breeds had taken with them for their nightly camp covering. On the trail we observed numerous heavy tracks of horses, as if a large body had lately passed over it. The country was thickly covered with bluffs or clumps of trees, affording excellent cover for an enemy. After we had proceeded about nine miles, some of my men signalled signs of the enemy, and almost immediately Sergeant Fisher came up and reported having seen a dozen or more men galloping off at full speed. The General now rode on to the front, and,

with an escort, went down to the houses from which the enemy had escaped, leaving the main force on the trail. He found in the house they had so hurriedly left the dinner cooking on the stove and their bannocks in the oven. After further search nothing unusual was discovered. They proved to be an outlying picket of the enemy stationed there to give warning of our approach. We resumed our march for a couple of miles until we arrived at Gabriel Dumont's Crossing, the homestead of Riel's lieutenant-general. We found a store here containing a few articles, chiefly blacking, braces, strings of beads, and such like, but nothing of value, except a billiard table. Dumont's house, which was built of logs, was neat and commodious, with ample outbuildings, and the store referred to attached. From this store everything of value had been removed. The General gave orders that he would allow nothing to be touched, and turned all of the men out of the buildings, not, however, before some mementoes of the campaign had been secured.

After having lunched off our hardtack, which we had with us, and fed our horses, each with a nose-bag of oats, we returned by the river bank, about a mile and a-half to the west of the main trail, passing by all the houses overlooking the river. They were all open, and the interiors showed evident signs of comfort and prosperity. In almost every other house was seen a fiddle on the walls, to help in whiling away the long winter evenings

in a Red River jig. But beyond a few chickens, which we caught for the wounded, nothing was touched; and we left the doors closed to await the return of the occupants.

During this reconnaissance a courier followed us to say that the long-looked-for steamboat had arrived from Saskatchewan Landing, having on board Colonel Williams, with two companies of the Midland Battalion, and Colonel Van Straubenzie, who had come up to act on the of the General's staff. On board also was the gatling gun, in charge of Captain Howard, a representative of the manufactory where these guns are made. The troops disembarked to form part of the column. The gatling was attached to "A" Battery and put under the command of Lieutenant Rivers.

Before leaving camp at Fish Creek the telegraph operator, gunner Wood, of the Winnipeg Field Battery, had constructed a line of some four miles to connect with the main line across the river, and thus the arduous duties of the courier were relieved. Wood was a most efficient field-operator.

On the 5th of May General Middleton completed his arrangements for a further advance on Batoche. At the time he was, I believe, urged to advance directly on Prince Albert, in order to effect a junction with Colonel Irvine and his corps of Mounted Police, leaving Batoche for future attack; but no doubt feeling that this would be a

sign of weakness, the General determined to march on to Batoche, and to attack Riel in his stronghold without further delay, sending a message to Colonel Irvine to co-operate with him from the north.

In order to give the Indians an opportunity of abandoning their alliance with Riel, the General, on the 4th of May, wrote out a proclamation in French, and sent half a dozen copies to be distributed in Batoche. He selected one of the three Indians scouts we still held as prisoners to take them. This proclamation was to the effect that if the Indians and friendly half-breeds would return to their reserves they would be protected. Riel took this messenger prisoner and suppressed the proclamation before he had distributed any of the copies.

About this time, I lent two of my best horses to couriers McConnell and Linklater, to carry despatches, both of whom were, however, captured by the enemy. McConnell becoming a prisoner, but Linklater escaping with the loss of his horse.

General Middleton's two A.D.C.'s, Captain Wise and Lieut. Doucet having been wounded, Lieut. Frere, Adjutant of the School of Infantry at St. John's, Quebec, now joined to take their places. Another visitor also turned up in the person of Mr. Henty, correspondent of the London *Standard*, having been sent out by that enterprising paper to report the campaign. He arrived on the 9th of May, the first day of Batoche, and with Mr.

Johnston, of the St. Paul Pioneer *Press*, they were the only representatives outside of the Canadian press.

List of Killed and Wounded at Fish Creek.

Killed.

"A" Battery.—Gunner G. H. de Manolly, Gunner W. Cook.

90th Battalion.—Privates A. W. Ferguson, James Hutchins, George Wheeler, William Ennis.

Died of Wounds.

Lieutenant Charles Swinford, 90th Battalion; Arthur J. Watson, Infantry School Corps; Trooper D'Arcy Baker, Boulton's Mounted Infantry; Corporal John Code, 90th Battalion.

Wounded.

Staff Captain Wise, A.D.C., Lieutenant Doucet, A.D.C.

"A" Battery.—Gunners E. Moisau, C. Armsworth, A. Asselin, W. Woodman, A. Emerie, M. Ouillet, W. Langerell, Staff Sergeant S. W. Mawhinney, Acting Bombardier D. Taylor; Drivers M. Wilson, J. Harrison, J. Turner.

90th Regiment.—Captain W. Clarke, Corporals J. E. Lethbridge, W. Thacker, J. W. C. Swan, H. H. Bowden, Private David Hislop, C. H. Kemp, Milas Riley Jones, A. S. Blackwood, M. Caniff, E. Lowell, W. W. Matthews, Joseph Chambers, Charles Bouchette.

"C" INFANTRY SCHOOL CORPS.—Privates Robert H. Dunn, R. Jones, E. Harris, E. J. McDonald, Harry Jones, C. Sergeant, R. Cummings.

BOULTON'S MOUNTED INFANTRY.—Captain Gardner, Sergeant Alexander Stewart, Troopers F. H. Thompson, Valentine Bruce, Perrin, J. Langford, C. King.

LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED AT DUCK LAKE.

Killed.

MOUNTED POLICE (Constables).— . G. Gibson, George P. Arnold and M. K. Garrett.

PRINCE ALBERT VOLUNTEERS (Residents).—Lieutenant Morton, a farmer from County Bruce, Ontario; A. N. R. Markley, an old resident from Red River; S. C. Elliott, a son of Judge Elliott, of London; Wm. Napier, from Edinburgh, Scotland, and a nephew of Sir Charles Napier; Robert Middleton, from Prince Edward Island; Daniel McKenzie, Charles Hewitt, from Portage la Prairie; Daniel McPhail, of McPhail Bros., Prince Albert; Alexander Fisher, a young Englishman; William Blaikie, of Orkney; Joseph Anderson, a native half-breed.

Wounded.

Captain Moore, Charles Newitt, A. Macnab, Alexander Stewart, Inspector J. Howe, Corporal Gilchrist, S. F. Gordon, A. W. Smith, J. J. Wood, A. Miller.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ADVANCE ON BATOCHE.

THE General had the steamboat barricaded for protection, for the conveyance of supplies down the river, and also to co-operate with his troops on the river at Batoche. On board he placed Major Smith with "C" School of Infantry in command; * and on the morning of the 7th of May, the column marched from Fish Creek, the scene of the late battle, leaving our dead comrades in their lonely resting-place. My men led the advance, followed by the column, now reinforced by Colonel Williams with his two companies, under Major Hughes and Captain Lazier, and the gatling gun, an addition which made up for our Fish Creek casualties. On the first day we advanced as far as Gabriel Dumont's Crossing, arriving there at noon. We camped at Dumont's for the night, my men being sent out as videttes about half a mile to the front of the camp. The picket we had surprised two days previously we saw in position, about three miles from their old station, and they fired a few shots at some stragglers, who had wandered away from camp, without, however, doing any damage.

* For a more detailed account of the boat's operations, see Major Smith's report.

After dinner I was ordered to turn out for a reconnaissance towards Batoche, the General himself commanding. We circled out on to the open prairie to get clear of the bush, which is dense only within two or three miles of the river bank. After proceeding some distance, we ascertained that the prairie was open to the north, and that the column could thus avoid dangerous ravines and heavy timber, which obstructed our march along the main trail through the settlement. Under the guidance of Mr. Reid, a surveyor, who was acting as paymaster to the Midland Battalion, the General marked out his line of march for the following day, and we returned to camp.

The night was an anxious one; we were encamped within six miles of Riel's stronghold, who was aware of our presence, and there was ample cover to make a night attack, with little warning. But our pickets were strong and well placed, and were kept vigilant, by being visited by the General himself as usual, and who was followed later on by the field officer of the day. General Middleton never failed to assure himself every night that the pickets were well placed and doing their duty.

On the following morning we marched eastward at six o'clock, to reach open prairie, and then turned north to the trail that leads directly into Batoche. On the edge of the bush, some six miles from Batoche, the General halted, and ordered camp to be pitched on a rising ground, protected by a lake on the bush side, and the open prairie

on the other. Without halting, the General took my men on and made a reconnaissance to within a mile and a half of the rebel headquarters, to ascertain for himself the lay of the country, to see that our front was clear, and to select a spot nearer Batoche for the following night's camp. We passed through the reserve of "One Arrow," whose tribe had joined the insurgents, leaving his reserve deserted. Beyond a scout or two, who were seen watching our movements, nothing unusual occurred.

In the evening the General assembled the officers commanding corps and explained the duties each was expected to perform on the morrow, when an attack on the enemy's stronghold was to be made. Previous to leaving Gabriel's Crossing, the General had given instructions to Major Smith and Mr. Bedson, on board the steamboat, to drop down the river and join us at eight o'clock on the following morning, opposite Batoche, to co-operate in the contemplated attack.

On the morning of the 9th of May, the camp was astir before daybreak, making preparations for the important day's work before us. We were ready to march punctually at six o'clock, and as we were assembling for parade, a box of cigars, which had come by that morning's mail, was handed to me as a present from Messrs. Davis & Sons, of Montreal, who for the comfort of the troops generously sent up ten thousand cigars to our column. By this thoughtful act I was enabled to serve

out a cigar to each man, and we marched off amidst great good humour and lots of chaff.

The General left the camp intact, to await the result of the day, leaving a small guard to protect it. Our order of march was as usual. My men covering the front with a line of sixteen skirmishers, supported as before, followed by "A" Battery of Artillery and the gatling, the Grenadiers, the 90th and the Midland, with the Winnipeg Field Battery and Captain French's Scouts. My skirmishers had to go through dense bush, swamps and gullies, on each side of the trail, but the reconnaissance of the previous day had given them confidence, and they kept their position and touch remarkably well.

When within about a mile of the river, we heard sounds of a hot contest, in the direction of the stream, volley after volley and shot after shot being fired in rapid succession, and the steamboat blowing her whistle "for all she was worth." We knew at once that this part of the programme had miscarried. The General ordered a shot to be fired by the artillery to advise them of our approach, and if possible to draw the attention of the enemy from them in case they were in danger. We then advanced rapidly to the scene of action.

On our approach to the village we found the houses barricaded, which lay on the high ground before descending to the valley. It took some little time to form up the column from the line of march preparatory to going

into action. Two guns were brought up and opened fire on the barricaded houses, from which men were seen issuing. I dismounted some of my men and advanced in skirmishing order, as we saw men moving about at the edge of the bush which encircles the prairie ridge at the top of the valley. Right before us, about four hundred yards off, lay two large buildings, near the trail, and out of one of them, after Captain Howard had fired two rounds of the gatling at it, came two or three people who waved a white handkerchief, which on being reported to the General, he advanced with us to ascertain the cause. He found that this house was occupied by a number of priests, some Sisters of Mercy, and several families, who were in a great state of anxiety and fear, and who luckily had not been touched by the gatling, which only hit the corner of the house. The General assured them of his protection, and shook each kindly by the hand. We now again advanced.

My line of scouts went on beyond the church and seminary, as we found them to be, and into the brush, that lay about two hundred yards the other side of the church, and there we received the fire of the enemy from the concealed rifle-pits. The General's orders to me were, that the moment I felt the enemy I was to retire my men and form them up to await further orders, which I now did, in the neighbourhood of the church.

The Grenadiers now came up, and two companies extended in skirmishing order to advance upon the position. The artillery were advanced and opened fire upon the other side of the river. Two more guns were pushed still farther forward, until they commanded the village and the ferry, and there commenced shelling the position to protect the advance of our skirmishers and draw the enemy's fire from the steamboat. By the time these positions were taken up, the fire in the neighbourhood of the steamboat had ceased, and she was not to be seen near the ferry, so we hoped she had made her escape in safety.

The Grenadiers advanced into the bush, were received by a hot fire from the concealed rifle-pits, and were ordered to lie down. The guns, which were shelling the village, were ordered to change their position. The General and all his staff, besides a number of officers, were watching the effect of the shelling, and just as the guns were being limbered up preparatory to changing their position, a body of the enemy, who had crept through the bushes which lay a short distance in our front, poured in a volley and wounded two or three men and killed a horse. The gatling, which was being worked for the second time and was just getting into action, with Captain Howard at the crank, turned its fire on the concealed foe, and for the moment silenced them. Captain Howard on this occasion showed his gun off to the best advantage, and very pluckily worked it with great coolness, although the fire from

the enemy was very hot for a time. This is the incident that was magnified into the "gatling saving the guns." The illustrated papers drew vivid pictures of our artillery, surrounded by a horde of savages, and Captain Howard's gatling pouring forth its bullets for their salvation, and "mowing 'em down." These absurd illustrations and absurder comments unfairly reflected upon our artillery and their officers; but Captain Howard did nothing more than what was repeatedly done by our gunners, and were it not that he was an officer belonging to the American service partaking of our hospitality and serving with us, I do not suppose his name would have been mentioned. I say this in justice to our own men, and not in any way to discredit Captain Howard, who behaved himself throughout the campaign with the greatest coolness and courage, and worthily upheld the character of the great people who are our neighbours. On this occasion we were all anxious to compliment him on the service his gun had performed, the first time it had been in action, and this considerate act of ours was unfortunately made the pretext for which at one time seemed a dereliction of duty on the part of our own gunners and their supports.

We had now received a decided check. Immediately in our front lay a thick bush, beyond which we could not penetrate. We had been driven by the heavy fire of the enemy from the position which the guns occupied over-

looking the village, which was within easy range of the rifle-pits that were covered by the bush.

I here attempt a short description of the ground that we were fighting on. The trail by which we had approached Batoche from the east, made a turn and came up parallel to the bank of the river, for half a mile, and only a few yards from the edge of the valley to the church. A short distance beyond the church the trail disappeared in the bush, down the slope of the valley leading to Batoche. The bank of the river is very steep, sloping abruptly down to the water about one hundred and fifty feet below, the valley between these two high banks being about a mile wide. On one side, opposite the village, where a few houses with a store stood, a portion of Riel's men were camped, protected by a semi-circle of rifle-pits and entrenchments, whose points touched the banks of the river to the north and south. The river bank on our side was covered with heavy timber, and afforded good cover to the enemy, further protected by a semi-circle of rifle-pits which enclosed the slope towards the village, and the ferry. Near the church a short gully formed an indentation leading down to the river, clothed with brush, towards the bottom, where the enemy were in force. On the prairie level was an open space, about half a mile square, surrounded by clumps of trees and flanked by the river. This position we occupied, making the neighbourhood of the church our headquarters.

The enemy were on two sides of us; in front of us, in their rifle-pits, and on our left, covered by the protection of the river bank, and the shelter afforded by the bush in the gully. On the south side of this short gully, farthest from Batoche, and next our position, was a graveyard with a fence around it, resting on the edge of the bank and overlooking the magnificent valley below.

General Middleton now lined the edge of the river bank, with the 90th, occupying the graveyard and the slope of the hill to the river. The Grenadiers occupied the front, opposed to the rifle-pits of the enemy. Some of my men, with Captain French's, flanked the crests of the short gully, joined by the dismounted Artillery. At this point, Gunner Phillips was killed, and two of Captain French's men were wounded. The mouth of the gully evidently contained the enemy in force. Colonel Williams was ordered to charge down this gully with his two companies, which he gallantly did, clearing the front in this direction; and Captain Peters accompanied by Dr. Codd, took advantage of this movement to go with three or four of his men to recover Phillips' body, which was lying under fire, and who was found to be dead. The position was unknown to the troops, and the danger from the unseen rifle-pits was so great to our inexperienced men that no further advantage was gained; but a continuous fire from both sides was maintained in a determined manner, the enemy not venturing out of their rifle-pits and our troops not

venturing into them. We were somewhat annoyed at this time by a galling fire from the opposite side of the river, two or three long range rifles reaching us, sending occasional bullets into our midst. But the artillery opened fire and silenced it; and so the day wore on. The casualties were not heavy, although two gallant comrades, Phillips, of the Artillery, and Moor, of the Grenadiers, breathed their last, and six more were wounded, including Captain Mason, of the Grenadiers.

The question that was discussed with a great deal of interest and anxiety during the afternoon was what did the General intend doing. On the previous evening during our reconnaissance the General had selected a spot upon which to camp after the morrow's engagement at Batoche; but he had altered this arrangement, and the orders which had been issued to strike camp at four o'clock in the morning had been countermanded, and the camp was left standing to await the events of the day. The question privately discussed was whether the General intended retiring to the camp, or would he bring the camp up to the position?

The news of Colonel Otter's engagement with Poundmaker reached the General before he left Fish Creek, and the wires between Battleford and Clarke's Crossing being down, no further information from that quarter had been obtained, which added to the anxiety of the moment.

The General gave no intimation of his policy, until

about half-past three, when he gave me orders to take my men and go with Mr. Secretan, the assistant transport officer, strike camp, and escort them up. As soon as the General had given this order, his face brightened up; and the load of anxiety that had rested upon him, in determining his policy, seemed to pass off when he had made up his mind as to the course he should follow. He was now relying on the valour and determination of his troops, and casting upon them the fate of the day. He was not to be disappointed in the result. There was a certain element of risk in thus moving up his whole equipment close to the enemy's lines, but the General determined upon a bold policy.

We cheerfully returned to the last night's camp at a brisk pace, and the tents were struck and loaded up. Lord Melgund returned with us on his way to Humboldt, to convey the despatches of the General, and continued his way to Ottawa, to confer with the Government upon the present situation, and if necessary to bring up reinforcements. We were sorry to lose him, for a more kind, gallant officer no troops ever served under. I fancy, he felt the affair was likely to be of longer duration than was at first supposed, owing to the stubborn resistance of the enemy, or else he would not have left us at all.

We returned with the transport and camping outfit by half-past seven in the evening, very much to the relief of everyone, who had a long, fatiguing and harassing day,

and unproductive of any material results. The houses had been burnt down in our neighbourhood as a precautionary measure, and a place selected, and lines for an entrenched camp marked out.

A corral was soon formed about a quarter of a mile distant from the church, in a ploughed field, and about two hundred yards distant from the bank of the river. Inside this small space the whole of the troops were placed, using the waggons as a barricade, in case of an attack. The skirmishers were now withdrawn, and as they retreated, they were followed by the enemy with a hot fire, which was kept up till they reached the corral, some bullets taking effect upon the horses, and several men being wounded inside the corral. As dusk had now come on, their firing ceased, and the troops were allowed to get supper in quiet and prepare for the night.

The General now ordered up reinforcements. Colonel O'Brien's Battalion, York and Simcoe Rangers, were ordered to reinforce Colonel Denison at Humboldt; the 7th Fusiliers, under Colonel Williams, of London, to go to Clarke's Crossing, and the remainder of the late Colonel Williams' Battalion, the Midland, were ordered to the front. Colonel Scott's Battalion, the 91st, was also instructed to garrison Fort Qu'Appelle, and Colonel Turnbull's School of Cavalry was ordered to remain at Touchwood Hills, and the Winnipeg troop of Cavalry under

Captain Knight, to remain at Fort Q'Appelle, thus bringing the reinforcements closer to the main column.

The night which we had now to spend will ever be a memorable one to the little force encamped before Batoche. In the corral, formed by about two hundred and fifty waggons, were enclosed some six hundred horses and about eight hundred men, besides teamsters. As soon as the men had their supper, strong pickets were placed outside the corral, in front of the waggons. The Midland, under Colonel Williams, with one company of the 90th, under Captain Forrest, took up a position on the edge of the bank overlooking the valley, to prevent a surprise from the enemy at that point; and during the whole night it kept up a dropping fire into the bush, which clothed the bank of the river. This was done to prevent the enemy in any numbers sneaking up under cover to surprise the little force, and to keep the men awake, two-thirds of the force kept vigilant watch on all sides, as sentries, pickets and skirmishers; for it was felt by the General that if there was any enterprise in the enemy we would be exposed to a night attack, which, in our crowded position, would have been very harassing, if not serious.

Before dawn next day the teamsters were all aroused, and the troops astir, in case that hour should be selected for an attack. The greatest danger would have been the stampeding of the horses, as it would have embarrassed

our movements, so the teamsters were ordered to stand by them. But dawn came and early morning passed without any disturbance, and the men got their breakfast in peace; thus a bright Sunday morning opened upon a scene of war and anxiety.

About seven in the morning we saw through our field-glasses a party of men digging near the graveyard. It was a funeral party of the enemy, burying their dead of the day before, and we refrained from interfering, or making any attack, until all was over.

At eight o'clock the General ordered out the Grenadiers and directed Colonel Van Straubenzie to advance them to their position of the day before. My men were also ordered out, as a line of skirmishers, in front of the right flank of the corral, to protect the camp from surprise in that direction. The Midlanders again occupied the position on the left flank. The enemy took up a more advanced position in front of their rifle-pits, and in the rear of the church, so we lost some of our ground of the previous day; but as the General was occupying the ground only to ascertain further the lay of the country, no attack was ordered. The men put in some practice by firing at the enemy in front and across the river, and by throwing up temporary entrenchments to protect themselves, taking lessons from the enemy's mode of warfare. Captain French with his men, and one of my troops, was sent on a reconnaissance to ascertain the position of an

open plain, reported to the north. He made a circuit of some distance, returned in the evening, and reported having found it. The Winnipeg Field Battery turned out in the afternoon and opened fire from the right of the line across towards the graveyard, and Lieutenant Bolster, of the 90th, with a small detachment, made some blind rifle-pits, to occupy and protect the line of skirmishers as they made their usual retirement in the evening.

The Rev. Mr. Gordon, who had joined the force as chaplain of the 90th, and who had been sent up by the parishioners of Knox Church, Winnipeg, of which he was pastor, held service in the evening. During his sermon the retirement took place, which was accompanied by heavy firing, to cover and protect the retreating troops. This made his remarks so much the more impressive, as he had to raise his voice above the din of the firing. To show how completely we had lost track of the days, the arrangements about divine service were being put in orders and Mr. Gordon was consulted, when he had to tell the Brigade Major that Sunday was over.

On Monday morning the General ordered out my men and Captain French's with the gatling to make a reconnaissance on the plain to the north of Batoche. We marched out about ten o'clock under the command of the General himself, leaving Colonel Montizambert, Colonel Grasett, Colonel Williams, Major Jarvis, Colonel Mac-

keand and Colonel Van Straubenzie all discussing the position, and studying a plan of the ground, which had been drawn by Captain Haig, R. E., with a view of preparing for the attack. Just as we were going out, one of the priests was being carried to the hospital tent; he had been severely wounded by one of the enemy's bullets, which had entered the window from the rear of the seminary. With Hourie for guide, we made a short cut across, just skirting the prairie where it dips into the thick bush towards the valley ; and after a march of about a mile we came to a fine level plateau, of about fifteen hundred acres in extent, and nearly half a mile wide. We discovered that the edge of this plain, next the valley of the river, was lined with men, who were sheltered, as we afterwards found, by the customary rifle-pits which formed part of the semi-circle of entrenchments with which Batoche was surrounded. After dismounting, we threw out our skirmishers, under shelter, in order to draw the fire of the enemy and to ascertain their strength. The gatling opened fire upon some houses, half a mile distant, where some men were seen, which had the effect of bringing out from a house about forty or fifty men who were there assembled, and who scattered in all directions under the rapid firing of the gun. After gaining all the information we could at this point, without exposing the men more than was necessary, the General continued his reconnaissance down the plain. Two scouts were observed

in the distance watching our movements, and a view halloo! was given, and a chase and chevy ensued, led by the General himself, on his horse, "Old Sam," as he called him.

After an exciting gallop for a couple of miles, we pulled up, but the enemy had escaped us. On our return, we found that the General, who had been left by himself, had made a capture on his own account of a half-breed who had been lurking in the bush. He was unarmed, represented that he had come out for cattle and was not a fighter. He observed, as we marched him off, that the men would have to go hungry to-day for dinner. Before leaving this point we burned down some log-houses that might afford shelter for the enemy, in case further operations were needed here, and we returned to camp in good humour after our morning's excitement driving before us a herd of cattle, some heads of which had been intended to supply the rebels with their dinner. We also drove off, during these days, all the ponies we could find, and herded them in the neighbourhood of our camp, to prevent the enemy obtaining them for offensive purposes or for flight.

We returned to camp, where the day's work had been similar to the previous one, Colonel Van Straubenzie with his Infantry Brigade occupying the positions in front of the enemy, and keeping up the same excellent practice, making experienced soldiers of his men. The

Winnipeg Field Battery turned out in the afternoon and from the neighbourhood of the graveyard, which position had been regained during the day, had a little practice, shelling the opposite side of the river, where we observed that the shells created great consternation among the rebels, making them scatter and get well beyond range, and silenced the long range rifles which were a constant source of annoyance. The retirement was effected in the evening in the same manner, with the same heavy, independent firing from both sides. It was on this evening that poor Dick Hardisty, the son of the well-known and respected Hudson's Bay officer, who acted as secretary to Mr. Donald A. Smith in 1869, was brought in on an ambulance to breathe his last in a few short hours. His death and a few wounded made up the casualties of the day. Among the latter was Captain Manley, of the Grenadiers, who was wounded while covering the retirement of the 90th. During this movement, the General was engaged shaving himself in the centre of the corral (a daily duty he never neglected). His pocket-glass was resting on the wheel of a waggon, and a bullet struck the waggon-box behind the glass. The General, with the utmost composure, took no notice of it, but went on with his shaving, though the incident was sufficiently exciting to make most men give themselves a gash or dispense with the ceremony on that occasion.

CHAPTER XIV.

BATOCHE CAPTURED.

THE General having now ascertained the exact situation and lay of Batoche, determined on the following day to make an attack and carry the position. Both officers and men had gained valuable experience from their three days' fighting, and were, doubtless, getting impatient over the tedium of their daily skirmishing. But nothing of the General's intention was known until the following day; and I may say here that I never met a man who was so thoroughly able to keep his own council, no one knowing until orders were issued what his projects were. His plan was to make an attack, with all the mounted men, upon the enemy from the plain to the north, so as to draw them from the front of the camp, and to allow the Infantry Brigade to advance beyond the shelter trenches which they occupied, and then to return rapidly and with the whole force capture the position. Captain Haig, R.E., of the General's staff, told me as we marched out in the morning, that Batoche was to be taken that day. I was ordered to furnish two mounted men for the Infantry Brigade to act as gallopers, and I detailed Logan and Flynn, who remained behind with the Infantry. On Sunday we were joined by Captain Dennis, in command

of fifty mounted men, composing the Intelligence Corps, most of whom were surveyors and their assistants. The arrival of this corps was opportune, for they were a useful, hardy, intelligent lot of men, and were of material assistance in the campaign, and a valuable addition to the mounted force.

Captain Dennis's corps, my own corps, and Captain French's, in all numbering about one hundred and thirty mounted men, one gun of "A" Battery, under Captain Drury, and the gatling, under Lieutenant Rivers, accompanied by Captain Howard, marched off under General Middleton to the position we occupied the day before. Before setting out, the General gave orders to Colonel Straubenzie to advance his brigade to the old position, and as much farther as he could, after he heard that we had engaged the enemy. We debouched on the plain at the same point as on the previous day; the Intelligence Corps dismounted and extended in skirmishing order to support the gun about to open upon the enemy, the gatling took up a position a little farther down the plain, the main body of the mounted men keeping out of sight behind a knoll. The General went out on horseback in advance of the skirmishers, to view the position through his glass before placing the gun, thus offering an excellent mark to the enemy as he sat there still and immovable as a target. The enemy were tempted to try a shot at him at four hundred yards, though they were careful of their

ammunition. Ping! Ping! the bullets whizzed past him, when he deemed it prudent to retire, and in a temper to make it hot for them.

The gun being placed in position opened fire, and was viciously answered by volleys from the enemy about three hundred and fifty yards distant. Lieutenant Kippen, of the Intelligence Corps, who was skirmishing with his men in support of the gun, here received a death-wound, and presently breathed his last. Dr. Rolston, assisted by his dresser, Mr. Kinlock, attended him instantly where he lay, in the line of skirmishers. Captain Drury dropped several shells into the enemy's entrenchments, and the skirmishers kept up an independent fire at the rebels as occasional opportunity offered. The General took the gatling farther down the plain to another position, a couple of hundred yards off, supported by some of my men, and brought it again into action. A few shots had been fired, when a man, riding quickly, appeared waving a white flag. The General called "cease firing," and rode out to meet him. He proved to be a Mr. Astley, one of Riel's captives. Astley, it seems, was confined in a cellar with a number of other prisoners at Batoche, when Riel came to the trap-door, called him up, and sent him with a letter addressed to the General, which he now presented, saying "that if we murdered the women and children by our shell fire, he would massacre the prisoners." The

General wrote an answer to say that "he did not wish to harm them, and that if Riel would place the women and children together in one spot, and let him know where they were, he would take care that no shot should be fired in that direction, adding that he trusted to his (Riel's) honour that no men would be placed with them."

After a quarter of an hour's conversation with Astley as to where the prisoners were, the position of the ground, etc., he was sent back. Before leaving, however, Astley asked the General upon what terms he would accept Riel's surrender; as he (Astley) was anxious for the safety of the prisoners, and expected to bring about Riel's surrender. The General told him that he would be glad to see Riel in camp and would protect his life until handed over to the Government; but that his surrender must be unconditional; and with that Astley returned. As he was leaving, another messenger, named Jackson, came out from the same direction, on the same errand. He was the brother of Riel's secretary, and said he had been a prisoner in the hands of Riel. Having, however, got clear of the place, he refused to go back with an answer to his message, although the General urged him to do so, lest it should affect the safety of the rest of the prisoners.

The General now gave us orders to form up preparatory to returning to camp, keeping us for a while just out of sight of the enemy, occasionally showing a mounted man or two to puzzle the rebels as to our movements, which

always drew a volley from them. About half past eleven we returned to camp, and the General was annoyed to find that the advance ordered had not been made. Shortly after the General left the camp in the morning, Colonel Van Straubenzie had ordered out the Grenadier and Midland Battalions, who took up a position in front of their respective lines, in quarter-column, waiting to hear the attack which he expected would be made on the position to the north. Owing, however, to a strong wind blowing from the camp, he only heard a little firing, and not knowing exactly what to do, determined upon waiting the return of the General. Colonel Van Straubenzie took this opportunity to address a few words to each corps, telling them that a resolute attempt was now to be made to capture the position. Immediately on his return to camp the General dismounted from his horse, sent him to be fed, and went down on foot towards the high ground overlooking the river, to examine the position. From there he walked over in the direction of the church, where he was received by a hot fire from the enemy, and took shelter, for the first time in the campaign, in one of our newly-constructed shelter-trenches. Colonel Van Straubenzie, Colonel Williams and I, stood watching him from the outside of the corral, greatly apprehensive that he would be hit. What his object was in going out, I could not imagine, unless it was to see if Riel made any attempt to withdraw his men, or if he had sent any mes-

sage to the priests in regard to the women and children, or was only using the negotiations he had opened as a ruse to gain time, for Poundmaker and his braves were daily expected. In half an hour he returned to camp to lunch.

In the meantime the Grenadiers and Midlanders had had their dinner, and, according to orders, again turned out. Colonel Van Straubenzie now gave instructions to the commanders of the corps to advance to the old ground and as much farther as they could, telling them what was expected of them, and himself accompanying them. Colonel Grasett advanced his regiment straight to the front, and Colonel Williams advanced his men to the graveyard, and threw his line down the bank of the river till his left touched the water's edge and his right was near the graveyard. At this point the river takes a bend, and in advancing, it became necessary to change the front by throwing forward the left, so Colonel Van Straubenzie ordered Colonel Williams and Colonel Grasett to throw the left flank forward, which was well executed under a brisk fire from the front as well as from the opposite side of the river. This movement was performed at the double, the men responding with a cheer, which was taken up along the whole line, warning us in the camp that operations had commenced in earnest. A company of the 90th, under Captain Ruttan, was ordered out to support

Colonel Williams, and another company, under Captain Wilkes, to support the Grenadiers. Colonel Van Straubenzie now sent word asking for the guns, which the General ordered out, at the same time mounting his horse and going to the scene of action, taking up his position at the church, surrounded by his staff. My horses having been fed I told the men to saddle and fall in to wait for orders, and rode out myself to join the General. I knew that there was likely to be some warm work, and determined to be on the spot to take instructions.

The excitement now increased, and order after order issued in rapid succession from the General. One gun of the "A" Battery, and both guns of the Winnipeg Field Battery had been ordered out, and I galloped back into camp with the General's commands to hasten the movement. I met them all coming thundering along at full gallop, with the little gatling in their midst, followed by the ammunition waggons, under Lieutenant Desbrowe, who was indefatigable in supplying the troops with ammunition. Other mounted officers galloped to and fro carrying orders, and making a stirring scene. "E" and "F" Companies of the 90th, under Colonel Mackeand, and Major Buchan, followed the artillery, to prolong the line to the right.

All this time the infantry were steadily advancing through the bush, supporting one another by hearty cheers. The guns took an advanced position and opened

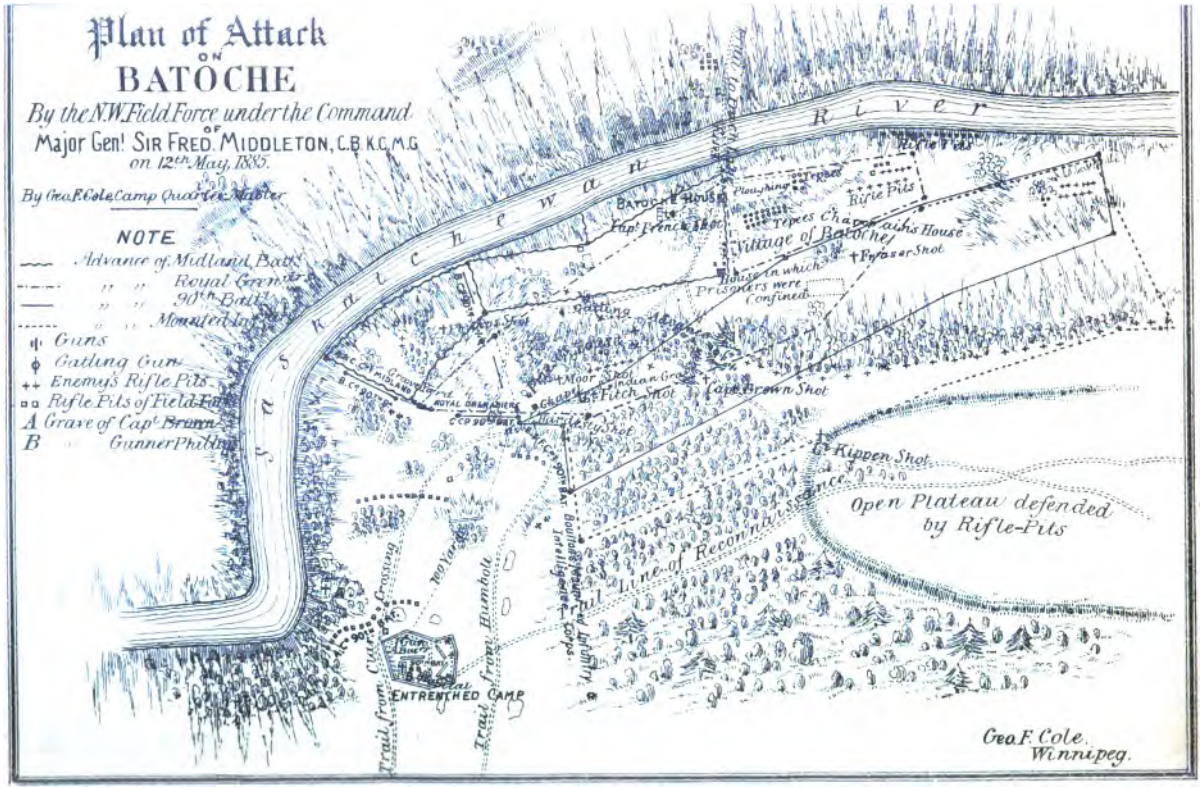
fire, one shelling the opposite side of the river, and two more shelling the enemy's position in the valley, and clearing the houses, which were filled with men, to make way for the advance of the infantry. I now received orders from the General to bring the mounted men out, and prolong the line to the right of Major Buchan, so I galloped back into camp and gave orders to the Intelligence Corps to turn out, and went over to my own camp, where the men were all ready standing on the parade-ground, each man holding his horse. I gave the word to mount and advance, and within a few minutes of receiving the order we had galloped up to the skirmishing line and dismounted. Leaving the horses in charge of three or four men, the former standing perfectly quiet in the midst of the din, we formed up on the right of the 90th with a hearty hurrah! In this movement we were quickly followed by the Intelligence Corps, which had marched up on foot. Cheer after cheer rose from one end of the line to the other, as the men saw that they were being supported by their comrades.

The whole line, stretching upwards of a mile from the river bank, now advanced steadily but rapidly through the bush to the open space which lay between us and the village. Before getting through the bush we came to a gully, at the bottom of which lay a number of the enemy. I shouted to the men not to hesitate, but to rush down, as it was dangerous to stand in the exposed position they

had gained. At this moment poor Ted Brown, who had only lately been promoted to his captaincy, and was a universal favourite, became a mark for the enemy and was instantly killed, having time only to say, as his head dropped upon his arm, "I am hit, boys!" This exasperated our men, who, with the 90th on the left, rushed furiously down the gully and drove the enemy before them. As they ran from us, five of them dropped under the fire of the now excited men, and pit after pit was cleared in front of our skirmishing line, as we took them on the flank.

From the hillside, as we advanced straight to our front, we could see the line of skirmishers advancing on the left, in the form of a semi-circle. We could also see the rapid rush of the Midlanders on the left and the Grenadiers in the centre, mixed with the 90th, all rapidly advancing and concentrating on the clump of houses which formed the village. My own men, with the remainder of the 90th and the intelligence corps, advanced straight to the front to protect the flank of our comrades who were now capturing the village. We were further reinforced by Captain Coutlee, with a gun from the Winnipeg Field Battery, supported by the gatling. The latter had been ordered round to open fire upon the village from the right flank, to assist the Grenadiers and Midlanders.

It was now evident that the day was ours, and that


Plan of Attack
ON
BATOCHE
By the N.W. Field Force under the Command
OF
Major Genl. SIR FRED. MIDDLETON, C.B. K.C.M.G.
on 12th May, 1885.
By Geo. F. Cole, Camp Quarter Master
NOTE
Advance of Midland Batt.
" " Royal Grenr.
" " 90th Batt.
" " Mounted Inf.
Guns
Gatling Gun
Enemy's Rifle Pits
Rifle Pits of Field Force
A Grave of Capt. Brown
B " Gunner Phillips
Saskatchewan River
Rifle Pits
Ploughing
Tepees
Rifle Pits
Tepees Chapman's House
Village of Batoche
Fraser Shot
House in which Prisoners were Confined
Batoche House
Capt. French Shot
Gatling
Moor Shot
Indian Grave
Fitch Shot
Capt. Brown Shot
Hardesty Shot
Kippen Shot
Open Plateau defended by Rifle-Pits
Trail Line of Reconnaissance
Trail from Humbolt
Trail from Cut Crossing
100 Yards
ENTRENCHED CAMP
Geo. F. Cole.
Winnipeg.

the winding up had only to take place, although the enemy still kept up a stubborn fire. From our new position we could see the soldiers, who had now reached the village, sheltering themselves from behind the houses, the enemy having retreated to the bed of the river, protected by a bank of some twenty feet, from which they poured a hot fire upon the victorious soldiers. The men, little heeding the fire they had become so accustomed to after three day's fighting, went from house to house to take possession, the first one visited being that in which the prisoners were confined in a cellar.

A piece of timber jammed between the ceiling and the trap-door of the cellar was used to prevent their escape, and all of these unfortunate men were confined for some time in this dark, foul place, and had been prisoners in Riel's hands ever since the 18th of March. They came out, looking pale and wan, but greatly relieved to be once more at liberty. During the time the charge was made upon the houses, Major Jarvis, with the remaining gun of the Winnipeg Field Battery, opened fire from the left upon a clump of trees up the gully, where the enemy was in position, and after a few well-directed rounds he succeeded in silencing them. After the village was captured the advance was continued by Captain Harston and a company of the Grenadiers, who gained Champagne's house, near by the river bank; and Captain Young, the Brigade Major, with some men took possession of the

Council Chamber, where all the rebel documents were found intact.

The two companies of the 90th continued their advance, now under Major Buchan, as Colonel Mackeand had sprained his ankle and was obliged to retire, though not before knowing that the day was practically won. My men and the surveyors also continued their forward movement on the right of the 90th, clearing the front for about a mile beyond the village, where the enemy kept up a most determined fire. In this advance one more of the enemy fell under the good marksmanship of Sergeant Burton. After we had passed the village, Hope Hay, another of my men, was badly wounded in the arm; and Fraser of the 90th was the last man killed in Major Buchan's advance late in the afternoon. About five o'clock we halted to await further orders from the General, and I came down the hill to the village to ascertain what were the results of the day.

The first thing I heard, and from everyone's lips, was that poor French was killed. With some of his men he had advanced with the Grenadiers and Midlanders, and after taking possession of the houses in the village, made a rush for Batoche's, which was about a hundred yards nearer the bank of the river and standing by itself. With characteristic gallantry Captain French entered the house with others, rushed up-stairs and went at once to a window to open fire on the enemy below. The latter,

observing the movement from the shelter of the bank, only a short distance off, and waiting their opportunity, concentrated their fire on the windows. An old French half-breed, named Ross, was standing at the corner of a house nearly opposite Batoche's house, and fired the fatal shot, then made a run for cover, but paid the penalty for shooting French just before reaching it. Captain French was a gallant, kind-hearted Irishman, and a friend of everyone. Just at the moment of victory, death met him in triumph, his last words being, "Remember, boys, who led you here!" I now heard for the first time of the death of Lieut. Fitch, of the Grenadiers, who, with Captain Brown, Captain French, Lieut. Kippen, and Fraser of the 90th, made up the day's casualties. Happily, owing to the impetuosity of the advance, forcing the rapid retreat of the enemy, the killed were confined to these few, who, in their country's cause, nobly met a soldier's death.

Under the shelter of the bank of the river, concealed by a bluff, we found numbers of women and children huddled together, frightened and anxious. Their household property lay in a confused mass in the middle of the village. The captives were kindly treated by the General, as well as by the officers and men, who sincerely pitied them in their unfortunate position, and who did all they could to relieve their anxiety, as well as to assist them in collecting their effects.

I should have mentioned another circumstance that occurred as I was standing beside the General before receiving the order to bring my men, and that was the approach once more of Astley, who had brought the flag of truce in the morning from the enemy's lines. He gallantly galloped through the line of fire, pouring in from front and rear, and receiving several bullet marks in his clothes, in his anxiety to bring about the safe release of the prisoners. He was the bearer of another despatch from Riel, thanking the General for his prompt and courteous reply, and informing him that he would put the women and children in some place of safety and send word, Astley all the time hurrying him up, as the firing was getting warmer and the time short. Riel sealed the letter up as he heard the ominous cheers of our men; and the fire increasing, he hurriedly wrote on the envelope, hoping to stay proceedings thereby, "I don't like war, if you do not cease firing, the question will remain the same as regards the prisoners." This despatch Astley handed to the General, but further negotiations were now out of the question. Astley returned to Riel once more, in order to give him the opportunity of surrendering, not knowing what the fate of the day might yet be. Riel by this time was anxious to surrender, and if he could have got safely into the General's hands he would have done so, but it was too late. In discussing the advisability of his surrendering with Astley, Riel was

anxious to have his safety assured; "but," he said, "there are three things that will save me: one is politics; another that I have assumed the office of priest, and that will save me; and the papers which are all here will implicate the council more than me." From this latter circumstance it may be assumed that the papers were left behind purposely. Riel's actions at this time were so selfish that he completely lost the sympathy of his own people.

I would here hold before the eyes of those who sympathize with Riel, his course during this eventful day, to show how little he deserves sympathy, and how he was working, not for the good of his people, not for the cause for which they were fighting, but for his own self-glorification, and, above all, for his own safety. For this he sent Astley out in the morning to open up negotiations, though, ostensibly, his motive was the protection of his women and children. But this was far from being his real motive. Astley returned with the humane assurances of the General, and, at the same time, with the promise of personal protection for himself until handed over to the civil authorities. Astley returned with this message, and Riel, anxious to carry on the negotiations in a politic way, and to obtain some terms, wrote four different letters, as Astley informed me, and tore them up, one after the other, not being satisfied with the part he wished to play. He thus allowed four precious hours to

elapse after the General had answered him, and only completed his letter on hearing the vigorous fire of his assailants.

General Middleton would have been glad to have saved the lives of his gallant officers and men, who fell in that charge; he would have been glad to have saved the lives of the nineteen half-breeds and Indians who lay prone in death after the battle was over, and for whose death Riel, in refusing the General's offer, was responsible. But instead of thinking of them, Riel was thinking only of himself. In his anxious desire to couch his letters in such language as might ensure his own safety, he wasted the moments which were given him by the General to put an end to the warfare. In wasting these precious hours, what consideration did Riel show for the lives and property of his people, and what advantage or honour did he gain for them in the wicked extremity to which he drove them? In taking advantage of their excitable nature, and their ignorance and superstition, was he not making profit only for himself, and causing them to ignore the counsel and solicitude of their priests? If he had been allowed to escape unharmed, what security had the country from a like danger from other adventurers at some future period, in settlements as isolated in the more western districts; and what security had his people against having their homes and property destroyed, and their lives lost in fruitless opposi-

tion to the power of the country? It is to these questions those who condemn the hanging of Riel should give heed before allowing their sympathy to go out to a man who showed so little consideration for his people's welfare. Not for Riel, but for his unfortunate dupes, who are now undergoing the penalty of the crimes for which he is responsible, should there be sympathy, and only for them should Executive leniency have been invoked.

The teamsters now brought down the picks and shovels for the troops to throw up entrenchments for their protection, for they were to hold the position during the night. This, however, proved quite unnecessary, as the enemy were thoroughly beaten and threw up their cause without another shot being fired. The delight of the troops over their day's work was unbounded, and congratulations and compliments passed round and great enthusiasm prevailed. After the men had captured every position and driven the enemy completely off, they took up their quarters in the village for the night, during which time the looting complained of took place.

The troops for four days had lain before Batoche, being killed, wounded and harassed by the residents of this village, where these schemes had been hatched, and which had been used throughout as their headquarters, and it is hardly to be expected that the soldiers, who had thus suffered, were at once to enter upon the burdensome

duties of guard and picket, to protect this property, especially as most of it had been stolen at the commencement of the outbreak, and appropriated by Riel to keep up the sinews of war. I can say this as an eye-witness, that notwithstanding the provocation, notwithstanding the murderous fire they had been subjected to, after the battle was over there was not a particle of ill-feeling for these misguided people. There was rather a feeling of sympathy for their misfortunes, in having left their comfortable prosperous homes, to take up arms and bring upon themselves these troubles, at the instigation of a few ambitious leaders. The General did all he could for their relief; he gave them provisions, and assured them of his protection. By nightfall, such was the collapse of the rebellion, that friend and foe alike were perfectly safe in the neighbourhood.

The half-breeds had any number of ponies, and the soldiers were soon seen galloping about on their backs, and every man who wished had a shagganappi for his own use and amusement for the time being. They, however, proved too great an encumbrance to them to care for on the line of march, and so were left behind.

Before dusk General Middleton took a survey of the position, visiting and inspecting the entrenchments, and as he rode round with his A.D.C., Lieutenant Frere, he was received with enthusiastic cheers from the men, in their admiration of his coolness and gallantry, and in

acknowledgment of the successful manner in which he had led them to victory.

His plans were undoubtedly well laid; his attack on the position to the north, and the complete silence in the direction of the camp, put the enemy off their guard and drew their strength in that direction. When we seized the rifle-pits, one after another, in our front, we found that the timber defences, with which they were surmounted, had been changed from the south side to the north side of the pits. This showed that the sudden movement of the troops in the afternoon had caught the enemy unawares, made the victory so much the more complete, and unquestionably prevented a greater loss of life. My men picked up forty or fifty pairs of blankets in these pits, besides camping utensils and food, showing that the pits had been occupied for some time, and that men had slept in them.

At dusk the General ordered me to take my men back to the corral to remain on guard. During the day it had been under the command of Colonel Houghton, with Major Boswell and one company of the 90th, and half of "A" Battery. To guard the corral, while Batoche was being taken, was an unpleasant but necessary task that fell upon this portion of the expeditionary force.

The effect of the fall of Batoche was decisive for the country. The Indians had been greatly excited by the false news concerning the battle of Fish Creek, which

Riel had reported to them as a victory. At Fort Qu'Appelle, the numerous tribes assumed a threatening aspect, and it took the combined exertions of Colonel McDonald, an experienced Indian agent, and Mr. McDonald, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, united with Colonel O'Brien's good judgment, to keep them quiet and avoid a conflict between the Indians and the troops who where stationed there, under the command of Colonel O'Brien. But the capture of Batoche nipped all this in the bud; and having now disposed of Riel, the General had only to gather in the insurgent Indian tribes farther west, to bring the campaign to a close.

About nine o'clock that evening the troops which had taken part in the charge were, by the General's orders, formed up in the square inside the corral, and were addressed by him. He paid them a high compliment for their gallantry, and said he was the proudest man in Canada, to be at their head. He was answered by hearty cheers from the men. The troops did their duty well, the officers gallantly led their men, and all ranks have a proud feeling and satisfaction that a grateful country acknowledges the service rendered.

The charge, if it could be called such, was gallantly made; it was in reality an advance by a long line of skirmishers through thick bush, and it was impossible that orders could be received or given to any, but those under immediate command. A great deal had to be left

to the individual intelligence of the force. The ardour with which the troops charged was such that had the enemy been five times the number, they could not have withstood them. In fact, it could not be properly called a charge, but a steady advance of four hundred and fifty men in skirmishing order, vying with each other in rapidity of movement, clearing everything before them as they steadily advanced on the enemy's position, and brought to a close by undaunted pluck and determination. The capitulation of Batoche ended the half-breed rebellion, and enabled the General now to turn his attention to quiet the excited Indians, who were threatening trouble all over the country, while the fate of the battle was still undecided.

About six o'clock in the evening the whistle of a steamboat was heard, and shortly afterwards the *Northcote* steamed up to the ferry with all on board safe. It appears that, on the morning of the 9th inst., those in charge of the boat had miscalculated their distance, and had dropped down upon the ferry before they were aware, and were at once attacked by the whole strength of Riel from both sides of the river. But the steamer was well barricaded, and "C" Company, under Major Smith, so steadily and rapidly returned the fire from their portholes, that no loss was sustained beyond three men wounded, although she was in a most dangerous position. The hottest fire had been directed at the pilot-house,

which was also well barricaded; but the captain of the vessel remarked that this kind of thing was not in his articles of agreement, and steadily refused to guide the boat, taking shelter from the enemy's bullets on the floor of his pilot-house. The vessel was allowed to drift for a short distance at will, but fortunately keeping clear of the many shoals in the river. She was followed for some miles by a few excited half-breeds, but finally escaped to the Hudson's Bay Crossing, where Mr. Bedson communicated with Colonel Irvine, and obtained from him a small detachment of Mounted Police, under Mr. White-Frazer, and returned just in time to be present on the day of the victory. For a more detailed account of this action with the steamboat, I refer the reader to Major Smith's graphic despatch in the appendix.

At five o'clock in the afternoon the General called upon me for a courier to carry his despatches, which honour was entrusted to Mr. VanKoughnet, who galloped off to convey the good news to the people of Canada, who for four days had been torn with anxiety as to the result of the engagement. VanKoughnet returned during the night with messages of congratulation from the Minister of Militia. A congratulatory telegram was received from Lord Wolseley on the following night, all of which were put in orders.

The day after the battle the General had his wounded, numbering in all thirty-five men, placed on board the

steamboat to be taken to Saskatoon, and made preparations for a forward march. I had to perform the painful duty of burying poor Captain Brown. We selected a quiet spot, half way down the bank of the river, in front of our corral, on the top of a slight rise overlooking the valley and surrounded by trees. A prettier spot could hardly be chosen for a soldier's last resting-place, and within view of the scene of the battle where he fell. The Rev. Mr. Gordon performed the burial service, and as we marched out of camp the band of the 90th Battalion played the Dead March. His comrades followed his remains to the spot selected, where a grave was dug and the coffin lowered into it amid the most sincere grief of all.

Captain Brown was originally from Peterborough, Ontario, where his widowed mother still lives to mourn his loss, though with a right to feel proud of her son, who at the head of his men sacrificed himself to uphold the laws of his country. He came to Manitoba six years ago with his brother, who is now deputy registrar at Portage La Prairie. He accompanied me to the Shell River district in 1880, where he was my neighbour and intimate friend till his sad death. Before leaving to go on the expedition he seemed to have a presentiment of his approaching fate; for he made his will, as if expecting that something would happen. I requested the priest at Batoche to watch his grave, which he promised to care for; and we left our dead comrade to rest in peace.

The Dominion Government, with characteristic liberality, consented to defray the expense of conveying the remains of those killed to their homes in Ontario and other places, which many took advantage of, the bodies being prepared and despatched the following day. It was at first the intention of Mrs. Brown to have her son's remains brought home, but when she heard that the body had been reverently and decently buried by his comrades she allowed her soldier boy to rest where he fell.

I would here remark upon the rapidity with which the wounded recovered, and the small percentage who died from their wounds. Out of eighty-nine wounded men, only four died, viz.: Lieutenant Swinford, of the 90th, D'Arcy Baker, of my corps, Private Watson, of "C" Company, and Corporal Code, of the 90th. The fact is a tribute to the healthiness of the country, for the air is so pure that the healing process was most rapid.

A second time I had to appoint a commander to the Russell troop. Captain Gardner had been sent to the hospital at Saskatoon with two wounds, and Captain Brown had been the day before killed. I now appointed Captain Campbell, a son of an old Hudson's Bay officer living at Straithclair. He was installed amid the cheers of the men, reminding us forcibly of the truth of the old motto: "Le Roi est mort, vive le Roi!"

On Thursday morning the General ordered us to strike camp, which we were thankful to do, having spent four

days crowded together in the centre of a ploughed field, without tents or the ordinary comforts that may be obtained in a well-appointed camp. We quitted the scene with regret only for our fallen comrades; and left it to the imagination of the owner of the field to endeavour to make out the peculiar formation of the entrenchments we vacated. Each corps, according to its fancy, had thrown up earthworks for the protection of the face where it lay; each teamster had, according to his fancy, secured himself as he thought from harm by digging a pit under his waggon, where he lay for the four days, preferring to risk inflammatory rheumatism for life rather than expose himself to the rebel bullets.

The General now set out for Prince Albert, intending to cross the river at Gardapuy's Crossing, about ten miles north of Batoche. In doing so we passed through a portion of the half-breed settlement we had not yet visited. We found the people coming in in great numbers, carrying white flags, to surrender themselves as peaceable citizens. One and all were treated kindly by the General and by the troops.

On our way we heard that Riel and Dumont had fled to the Birch Hills, not many miles distant from this point. After reaching the Crossing the following day, the General ordered me to take the mounted men, with the gatling, and scour the country in search of the rebel leader. Before leaving Batoche the General sent a

letter to Riel, at the solicitation of Astley, telling him that if he would surrender he would give him protection until being handed over to the civil authorities. We marched back on the trail by which we had come the day previous, towards Batoche, and there we met a guide who undertook to lead us to Riel. We now branched off into the country towards the Birch Hills, where we got ample information of Riel having been seen a short time previously. I divided my men into parties and they scoured the country. They came across a place where a camp of women and children had for some time taken shelter. Some of my troopers caught sight of a mounted man, to whom they gave chase, but he was on too fleet a horse for them. We afterwards heard that this was Gabriel Dumont, who had been in company with Riel.

In the afternoon a message came from the General to say that Riel was captured. Hourie, Deal, and Armstrong, three scouts who knew the country and the people, accompanied me about a half a mile in advance of the column, and on the main trail Riel had surrendered to them with the General's letter in his hand. Dreading the approach of the troops, he asked them to take him out of our way lest he should be ill-treated. They made a detour across the country, which happened to be in the same direction that we had taken, and when about five miles from the trail they passed through some of my scouts, who did not know Riel, and Hourie in his anxiety

to take him into camp himself, gave no intimation of his capture, sending word that he had lost his horse and was going back to camp for another. He took Riel into camp and delivered him up to the General, before it was known that he was captured. The General had a tent pitched near his own, and put Riel in it, in charge of Captain Young, of the Winnipeg Field Battery, who kept guard over him until he handed him over to the police authorities at Regina. We returned to camp that night, and gave up further pursuit of the rebel leaders. Gabriel Dumont, with his companion Dumais, evidently left the country at once, for a week after a telegram brought the news that they had been arrested south of the boundary, in United States territory. In this short time they covered the distance, some three hundred and fifty miles, fear lending wings to their flight. They were released by the American authorities, no application having been made for their detention, and there they have remained ever since.

Riel decamped so suddenly before the rapid and determined onslaught of the troops at Batoche that he left behind him all his papers and documents, with the official record of his provisional government, containing all the evidence necessary to enable the Ottawa authorities to prosecute those implicated with him in the rebellion. Two days after, he surrendered himself to the General, preferring to take his chances upon a judicial trial to

wandering about among his people and the Indians, who now apparently were hostile to him, on account of the troubles he had brought upon them. The General sent Riel by steamboat to Regina, in charge of a guard, commanded by Captain Young, there to be handed over to the civil authorities. In the meantime the half-breeds had surrendered a large quantity of arms of all sorts, from the repeating-rifle to the single barrel shot-gun.

The day after the capture of Riel, I was sent to Batoche with a list of the names of men the General wished me to make prisoners. I took them and brought them into camp, whence they were sent to Regina, to stand their trial for complicity in the rebellion. While at Batoche, I met Major Henry Smith, in command of two more companies of the Midland Battalion, just arrived by steamboat on their way to join our column. They all went round the battlefield and inspected the various points of interest connected with it.

At Gardapuy's Crossing, Colonel Houghton took leave of the column, being obliged to return to his duties as Deputy Adjutant-General in Winnipeg, Major Street, who had been acting as Orderly Officer, accompanying him. Major Smith, of the Infantry School, was appointed to Colonel Houghton's position, while Captain Harstone, of the Grenadiers, was appointed Brigade-Major in place of Captain Young, who had been sent off in charge of Riel to Regina.

The crossing of the river at Gardapuy's took two days, and on the 16th we set off for Prince Albert. Before leaving, the General sent two waggon loads of provisions to the priests at Batoche, with instructions to relieve any distress that might arise among the people. At noon on the 17th, we arrived at Prince Albert, having marched eighteen miles that morning, over very dusty roads, the men being much weather-beaten and fatigued. We were met by Colonel Irvine and his police force, and were warmly welcomed by the citizens of the place, who for two months had been locked up without telegraphic or mail communication, and who had been in a constant state of excitement and anxiety over the stirring events which so materially affected their safety. They were, however, well-protected by the Mounted Police force, some two hundred strong, and by a local corps, lately organized, under Colonel Sproat.

The troops made a march of eighteen miles, with only half an hour's rest, the day of reaching Prince Albert, arriving there by twelve o'clock noon, literally black with the dust of the march. At Prince Albert they had a day and a-half rest before proceeding. I will now follow the fortunes of Colonel Otter's and General Strange's columns.

CHAPTER XV.

Colonel Otter's Column.

For the present, we shall leave the movements of General Middleton's column to relate what had been occurring in the other parts of the territory.

As I have already stated, the plan of General Middleton's campaign was altered, and Colonel Otter had instructions to take command of his column at Swift Current, a station on the Canadian Pacific Railway, about thirty miles from Saskatchewan Crossing, where the ferry provides a crossing over that river *en route* to Battleford. Colonel Otter had orders to march speedily to the relief of Battleford, whose residents and neighbouring settlements were threatened by Poundmaker and the various bands of Indians who had joined him.

His column consisted of the Queen's Own Rifles, two hundred and seventy strong, whom he had commanded previous to his appointment to the Toronto School of Infantry. The Queen's Own, during the Fenian raid of 1866, had seen service near Fort Erie, a Canadian town opposite the city of Buffalo, where a number of the corps fell in an engagement with some Fenians who had invaded our territory at that point. In addition to the Queen's Own, he had a company of fifty, from the

Governor-General's Foot Guards, Ottawa, under the command of Captain Todd; "B" Battery, from Quebec, one hundred and ten strong, with two nine-pounders, under command of Major Short; a portion of his own Infantry School, called "C" School, forty-six strong, under command of Lieutenant Wadmore, the other half of which was with General Middleton, under Major Smith; fifty Mounted Police, under Colonel Herchmer, and a gatling gun.

Previous to the arrival of Colonel Otter's column in Battleford, Poundmaker's Indians had committed a number of murders in the vicinity. Bernard Tremont was the first victim. He was a Belgian, engaged in stock raising, and while at work in his yard was shot by four Indians. Ickta, one of the tribe of the Stonys, confessed to the murder to General Middleton. James Payne, Farm Instructor on the Stony Reserve, was murdered in his own house while the Indians were claiming rations. This murder was also confessed to the General. Poor Payne had an Indian wife who, apparently, deserted him in his time of need. Mr. Smart, a trader, while on patrol at Battleford, was shot dead on the night of the 22nd April, by some Indians who were hidden in a coulée, three or four miles from the town. He was an enterprising citizen from Battleford, and his lost was much felt.

Battleford is a rising town on the Upper Saskatchewan, about two hundred miles north of Swift Current. It is very prettily situated, at the junction of Battle River

with the Saskatchewan, on a high level plateau overlooking these two deep valleys to the north and to the south of the town, and high enough to command a good view of the surrounding country. One of the first impressions of a stranger on reaching Battleford is, what a beautiful place it is to live in. It was originally a Hudson's Bay post, and has gradually grown to be a place of some importance in the northern portion of the territory. Before the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway it was selected to be the capital of the North-West Territories, and there the Honourable Mr. Laird, the then Governor, resided. Mr. Laird was most popular in his time, and exercised a beneficial influence in the country. At Battleford also a considerable force of Mounted Police was maintained, and the North-West Council annually met to conduct the local affairs of the Territories. There are some fine settlements in the neighbourhood, which help to maintain the town, and intermingled with these settlements are a number of Indian Reserves, chief among which are Poundmaker's and the Stonys, an offshoot of the Sioux. The trade of these Indians, for the fur that they bring in, is also valuable to the town. As in the case of Batoche, there is, some eighteen miles from Battleford, on the Saskatchewan River, a half-breed settlement, founded by some of those who had left their locations on the Red River to seek other districts in which to settle.

Upon the news of the Duck Lake fight, which was apparently the pre-arranged signal of those who intended to commit depredations and commence hostilities, warnings reached the settlers in the neighbourhood of Battleford that danger was imminent. I might here say that the Duck Lake fight was so precipitated that the Indians and half-breeds were taken unawares, and were themselves unprepared for the outbreak. Undoubtedly, had they the choosing of the time, they would have postponed hostilities for another month; because the snow was still on the ground, there was no feed for horses or ponies, and it was at a time when the natives find it difficult to move about or obtain provisions from the hunt. For that reason, the act of Major Crozier, in his attempt to secure the provisions and stores at Duck Lake, was a fortunate circumstance in the history of the campaign; as the Indians and half-breeds had neither time or opportunity to assemble in a large body to meet the sudden onslaught of the advancing troops. Notwithstanding this, the various tribes of Indians under Big Bear at Fort Pitt, and under Poundmaker at Battleford, accepted the issue of the Duck Lake fight as a signal to commence hostilities. Battleford at the time was defended only by a small body of Mounted Police, under Inspector Morris, supported by a local corps, "The Battleford Rifles," under Captain Nash. The only other troops within a reasonable distance were twenty-five Mounted Police, under Inspector

Dickens at Fort Pitt, the next post, a hundred miles distant. The Indians under Poundmaker commenced hostilities by the murder of Payne, a Farm Instructor, whose duties among others was to serve out to them the Government rations. A small party went demanding an advance of rations, and because they were refused, he was shot, after a scuffle, by an Indian named Ickta. The same day a party of four went to a settler named Tremont, who owned a large herd of cattle in the neighbourhood. They persuaded one of their number to shoot him, and there and then, without a moment's warning, the poor fellow was wantonly murdered, with the intent, probably, to take his cattle. The Indians continued pillaging and destroying property in the neighbourhood, advancing as far as that part of the village of Battleford which lies on the south side of the Battle River, and separated from the town which stands on the plateau to the north, as before described. In this part of the village was the Hudson's Bay Post and other buildings, which were all pillaged and destroyed. The settlers congregated in the town, and great anxiety was felt for their safety in their isolated and defenceless position. The Indians, however, did not venture to attack the town, which is surrounded by open ground.

It was to the relief of this place that Colonel Otter was despatched with his column, with all speed, from Swift Current. On the 13th of April, Otter's column

marched to Saskatchewan Landing, about thirty miles distant. He was delayed here at the crossing of the river a couple of days, awaiting supplies and transport. The troops and provisions were all conveyed across with despatch by the steamer *Northcote*, which had been made ready to convey supplies to General Middleton's force at Clarke's Crossing, where, in addition, fifteen or twenty flat boats were being put together to carry supplies and forage to the same destination. Captain Howard had brought with him to this point two gatling guns from his manufactory; one of which was attached to "B" Battery, under Major Short, the other Captain Howard took with him on the steamboat to General Middleton. Colonel Van Straubenzie, on the staff of General Middleton, and the late Colonel Williams, in command of the Midland Battalion, were also on the boat going to join the General. General Laurie, on half-pay of the British army, now residing in Nova Scotia, who had marched with General Middleton's column as far as Humboldt, had returned to assist in the organization of the transport and supply from this point, where he remained during the remainder of the campaign.

On the 18th April, all was in readiness, and at one o'clock p.m. Colonel Otter commenced his march northward, with two hundred waggons laden with forage, supplies and men. He took one of the old trails, along which had been conveyed the supplies and stores in days

gone by in the primitive conveyances of the country. His march differed little from that of the General's column to Clarke's Crossing, except that by means of the transport he was enabled to cover distances in a shorter time. His column took but five and a half days to cover the intervening distance, of one hundred and eighty miles!

The country through which the column passed is a vast unoccupied prairie, covered with luxuriant vegetation and furrowed paths, known as "buffalo runs," now awaiting the industry of the settler to fill it with happy, industrious and contented homes. About ninety miles from Battleford the Eagle River had to be crossed, and pioneers were sent forward to construct a bridge for the passage of the troops and transport. This was speedily executed. After crossing this river into the Eagle Hills, greater caution had to be observed, as it was the neighbourhood of Indian reserves, where the disaffected tribes were on the war-path. By five p.m. on the last day's march, viz., 23rd April, they reached within three miles of Battleford, Colonel Otter deeming it prudent to camp for the night and reconnoitre before proceeding, as traces of the Indians were met with. He sent forward some scouts who discovered that a band of Indians were surrounding the heights opposite Battleford, and were setting fire to the buildings which they had left standing in their former raid. Judge Rouleau's house, only lately built at

considerable expense, was among the number to fall a prey to the flames. There is no doubt that the Indians were aware of the approach of the troops, and took the opportunity before their arrival to commit these additional outrages in their defiant and wanton spirit. The scouts opened fire and surprised them in their fiendish work, causing them to jump upon their horses and flee. Colonel Otter sent forward Colonel Herchmer with his Mounted Police to intercept them, but without avail. On the following morning, camp was struck at daybreak, and shortly after the troops reached Battleford, to the great relief and joy of the inhabitants. One of the principal citizens, Mr. Smart, had only two nights before been shot dead while on patrol, by Indians secreted in a gully between the two rivers, open in that direction to an attack. This was on the 25th April, the day after the battle of Fish Creek.

After a few days' rest, Colonel Otter, fired with a sense of the wrongs committed upon the settlers and the murders perpetrated, determined to go out and punish Poundmaker and his Indians for their villainous acts, which he felt to be necessary. He gallantly organized a portion of his force to make an attack on Poundmaker, who was known to be in force at Cut Knife Hill, where his braves and people were feasting on the spoils they had lately taken. Poundmaker had selected this place as his stronghold, to protect his families in case of

an attack, which he no doubt felt must soon come. Cut Knife Hill had been the scene of a fight between the Crees and Sarcees some fifteen years ago, when the former came off victorious; so that on the present occasion they were well acquainted with all the advantageous points of the position, and the plans of defence had been thoroughly discussed and explained by the chief to his braves. From close enquiries made by Colonel Otter, it had been ascertained as nearly as possible that Poundmaker had three hundred and fifty braves in this strong position. However, it was determined to make them give an account of themselves, and so on Friday, the 1st of May, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the column of teams, nearly forty in number, carrying the force with their supplies and ammunition, were ready, and they marched out from Battleford.

The attacking column was composed of the Mounted Police and scouts, under Colonel Herchmer, with Captain Neil in advance, and the line of march was by the south side of the Battle River, going west in the direction of Poundmaker's reserve. Following the police were the artillery, with two seven-pounders and the gatling under Major Short, with Captains Rutherford and Farley, and Lieutenants Pelletier and Prower. After them came "C" School of Infantry, under Lieutenant Wadmore and Lieutenant Cassels, Q. O. R., the half company of Ottawa Sharpshooters, under Lieutenant Gray;

No. 1 Company of the Queen's Own Rifles, under Captains Brown and Hughes and Lieutenant Brock; the Battleford Rifles, under Captain Nash and Lieutenants Marigold and Baker, brought up the rear with the ammunition and forage transport. The staff consisted of Lieutenant Sears, Brigade Major; Captain Mutton, Q.O.R., Brigade Quartermaster; Brigade-Surgeon, F. W. Strange.

The troops, numbering in all about three hundred, rode in the waggons, and with a parting cheer, the little column moved off, determined upon a surprise at daybreak. Otter's plan was a rapid advance, a surprise, an attack and a retirement to Battleford. The distance to Cut Knife Hill was thirty-five miles, and about seven o'clock in the evening, half the journey was completed, when a halt was made to await the rising of the moon. A day's rations were served out, and the men whiled away the time until eleven o'clock, talking over their probable fate, should an engagement take place. At half-past eleven the column resumed its march, the men making themselves as comfortable as they could in the short time they had before reaching the scene of action. The country in no way differed from the general aspect of the North-West prairies, being occasionally dotted with clumps of trees. Dawn soon appeared, which in this northern latitude is at an early hour, and as the sun rose in all its glory, the troops came upon the spot where the Indians, according to the reports of the scouts, were

supposed to be encamped, but which showed evident signs of having been lately vacated. They advanced through a hollow which led them into a deep gully, two hundred yards wide, densely wooded with poplar and willow underbrush, through which ran the Cut Knife Creek, which gives its name to the locality. This gully differed in no way from that of Fish Creek or any of the numerous gullies with which the prairie is indented, But, unlike Fish Creek, the enemy, instead of being found in the gully, had taken up a position about a mile beyond, no doubt intending, had they not been surprised, to have contested the advance of the troops across it. The Indians. not anticipating this hastily conceived attack, were asleep in their tepees, unmindful of the fate that was about to overtake them.

The position Poundmaker had now taken up had to be approached from Battleford through this gully. The trail along which the troops had to march to reach the summit, was flanked, a few yards to the right, by a smaller gully, and on their left flank the Indians were enabled to find protection in another one, running into the Cut Knife valley. Colonel Otter's force was thus placed with a gully on the right flank, a gully on the left flank, and the deep valley of Cut Knife Creek, which he had just crossed, was in his rear. Had the Indians been in this position, silently awaiting the approach of the troops, Colonel Otter would have found himself drawn

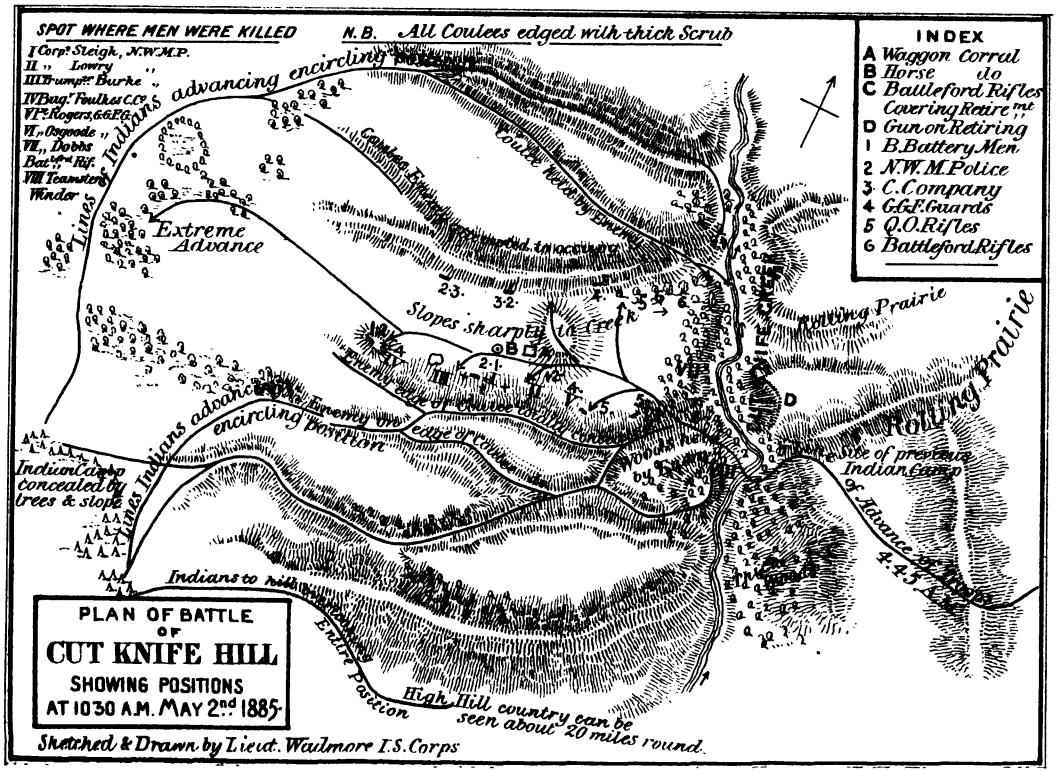
into an ambuscade Indians are known to be successful in planning. With the exception of one Indian, who was up and looking after the ponies, the encampment was wrapt in slumber. But after the first alarm they were promptly in action, though not before Colonel Otter had placed his men to the best advantage. As the column crossed the creek before mentioned, and arrived at the prairie, they saw, about a mile to the left, the Indian tepees which marked their encampment; and the advanced scouts, as they reached the top of the hill, were observed to take shelter, thus denoting the presence of the enemy in position. Colonel Herchmer dismounted his men, and with a detachment of Police, who had come in waggons, extended in skirmishing order and advanced to the top of the hill. Major Short, with the guns and the gatling followed, the remainder of the column still wending its way across the gully.

The rattle of musketry and fusilade of the gatling were soon heard, and the startled Indians opened fire upon the advancing line. The guns and the gatling were brought promptly into action; and, as in the battle of Batoche, the Indians made a determined charge to try and capture them, dreading the destructiveness of their fire, which they were powerless to silence. They advanced, holding their blankets in front of them, running in a zig-zag manner to puzzle our riflemen. Major Short called for volunteers to protect his guns, and made a gallant charge

upon the advancing enemy, which caused them to fall back. In this charge, Corporal Sleigh, of the Mounted Police, who had passed safely through the Fort Pitt danger, was killed, and Lieutenant Pelletier and Sergeants Gaffney and Ward were wounded. Major Short received a bullet through his forage cap, coolly remarking, "It's a new one, too!" This charge was made before the remainder of the column had got into position.

The Indians, who now came pouring out of their encampment, were not long in taking up the positions they had thoroughly studied, in anticipation of a fight. The remainder of the column had now reached the prairie level, having left the horses and waggons in a sheltered spot half way up the slope they had first ascended. The Queen's Own were extended along the crest of the gully to the left, to protect that flank; "C" Company and the Ottawa Sharpshooters were extended to protect the right flank; the Battleford Rifles protected the rear, while the Mounted Police and the Artillery attacked the front. Not many minutes had elapsed before Colonel Otter perceived he was being attacked on all sides, the enemy, under cover of the gully through which the column had approached, having even gone round and menaced his rear. Now was required all the steadiness and valour of the men to withstand the wily Indians.

The enemy outnumbered our troops, and were fighting for the safety of their families, who were close to the


SPOT WHERE MEN WERE KILLED
I Corp.l Steigh, N.W.M.P.
II " Lowry "
III Trump.r Burke "
IV Bag.r Foulkes C.C.
VI.r Rogers, G.G.F.G.
VI " Osgoode "
VII " Dobbs
Bat.lfd Rif.
VIII Teamsters
Winder
N.B. All Coulees edged with thick Scrub
INDEX
A Waggon Corral
B Horse do
C Battleford Rifles Covering Retire.mt
D Gun on Retiring
1 B.Battery Men
2 N.W.M.Police
3 C.Company
4 G.G.F.Guards
5 Q.O.Rifles
6 Battleford Rifles
Lines of Indians advancing encircling
Extreme Advance
Coulee held by Enemy
Slopes sharply to Creek
Enemy edge of Coulee
Lines Indians advancing encircling position
Indian Camp concealed by trees & slope
Indians to hill
Entire Position
High Hill country can be seen about 20 miles round.
Rolling Prairie
Site of previous Indian Camp
Advance of Troops 4.45 A.M.
PLAN OF BATTLE OF CUT KNIFE HILL SHOWING POSITIONS AT 1030 A.M. MAY 2nd 1885
Sketched & Drawn by Lieut. Wadmore I.S. Corps

field of battle, and for the protection of the herds of cattle and ponies, which they prized so much, all of which tended to make their onslaughts more vicious and determined. This, with their thrilling war-cries, intermingled with the roar of the guns and the rattle of small arms, made the scene a peculiarly impressive one, and likely to strike terror into the hearts of raw and inexperienced troops. But in all the encounters throughout this campaign the men showed no want of either steadiness or discipline, but always a soldierly bearing and a laudable determination to succeed.

Death was dealing destruction all round. As soon as one flank was attacked and repulsed, another flank came under fire and the rear was menaced. But the Indians gained no advantage and got as good as they gave, although the clever way in which they are accustomed to take cover made it difficult for our troops to get a fair shot at them.

Colonel Otter, an hour after the action opened, finding that his rear was in danger, instructed the Battleford Rifles to clear the enemy from that position—a work which they admirably performed, under Captain Nash and Lieutenant Marigold.

The artillery supported the various corps, from time to time, by shelling the enemy, occasionally dropping a shell into their encampment, some fifteen hundred yards away The firing throughout of the two batteries ("A" and "B"),

the one with the General's column, and the other with Colonel Otter's, was at all times excellent. At Fish Creek, Captain Drury, with the second shot, set fire to a house, at fifteen hundred yards' range, by throwing the shell through the thatched roof.

Until twelve o'clock the fight was maintained. As fast as the Indians were driven out of one position they made their appearance in another, and all efforts to dislodge them were without avail. Had Colonel Otter had a good support in his rear, there is no doubt he would have had sufficient confidence in his men to charge the enemy's encampment and take possession of it; but surrounded as he was by these precipitous gullies, filled with savages, he did not change his original intention of coming out to make a reconnaissance, to punish the turbulent tribes, and then to retire. He maintained the fight, which may very properly be called an unequal one, until noon, when he determined to withdraw and return to Battleford with his tired troops. And now the most difficult movement of the day had to be performed,—that of retreating across the deep gully with his entire force.

He ordered the Scouts, the Battleford Rifles, and Captain Rutherford and his men, with one gun, to proceed through the gully and occupy the heights on the opposite side of Cut Knife Creek. By this movement the line of retirement could be commanded and protected. The waggons then made their way across the gully, the main

body of the troops holding their position until they were safely across. And now began the difficult part—retiring the troops down the long incline leading to the gully and across it to the other side. It was a movement of great danger, but was well executed, the men retiring in skirmishing order, by alternate ranks, and holding the enemy in check.

When Colonel Otter's intentions were discovered, the Indians pressed upon the retiring troops with great vigour. But the steady and rapid firing maintained by every man restrained them: if it had not been for the precautionary measures, in placing the guns and the gatling in so good a position, it is doubtful if it could have been accomplished with so little loss of life. The guns dropped their shells into the advancing Indians, and the gatling swept the face of the hill down which they were following our troops, and soon the whole column was enabled to form upon the prairie level, to partake of a meagre meal and enjoy a short rest before returning to Battleford.

In summing up the casualties, it was found that there were eight dead and thirteen wounded, who were cared for by Brigade-Surgeon Strange, I.S.C., and Surgeon Lesslie, Q.O.R. The dead were all taken off the field, with the exception of Private Osgood, of the Ottawa Sharpshooters, who was missing. Osgood, on being reported absent, a party was sent back for him, which met the ambulance corps with a body which, they said, was

Osgood's; this was not found to be incorrect until too late to again seek for it. Osgood, when shot, had, it appears, fallen in a coulée, and thus escaped the notice of those near him.

To praise too highly the conduct of the officers and men during the engagement, is an impossibility, yet to underrate the strength of the Indians in their peculiar mode of warfare, on their own ground, I certainly think, is folly. While they have not the courage to face a foe in the open, their ability to protect themselves and to pick off their opponents from behind cover, is certainly superior to ours. They are brought up to this from their youth gaining their livelihood by stalking and shooting the game of the country.

After a short rest the column resumed its march and returned to Battleford, reaching there at ten o'clock at night, after an absence of thirty hours.

Not having been an eye witness of this engagement, I regret that I am unable to give a more detailed description of the striking events of the day. But from all accounts the troops brought renown upon themselves for their admirable behaviour.

We shall now leave this column for the present, to take up other events of the campaign. Colonel Otter remained in Battleford until the arrival of General Middleton on the 25th of May, acting entirely on the defensive.

While Colonel Otter apparently acted upon his own

responsibility in making this attack upon Poundmaker, the circumstances by which he was surrounded must be taken into consideration. On his arrival at Battleford, he found that several murders had been committed, settlers' property had been destroyed, and their owners were obliged to flee to Battleford for safety. A portion of Battleford itself was also burned and pillaged. These doings, no doubt, moved him to attempt to inflict some punishment upon Poundmaker's Indians. Moreover, an amalgamation between Big Bear's band (which had so recently captured Fort Pitt) and Poundmaker was to be feared, and Colonel Otter deemed it advisable for the safety of the country to inflict a blow on Poundmaker before this junction was effected. The reports that Big Bear's runners brought back to their chief about the fighting that had taken place and the loss the Indians had suffered at the battle of Cut Knife, no doubt, led Big Bear and his tribe to feel that they were safer in the neighbourhood of Fort Pitt, and no junction was afterwards attempted. On the whole, then, this attack, it must be said, was well timed and pluckily executed.

Poundmaker's attitude at this period may be gathered from the following letter to Riel from his camp, which throws considerable light upon his proceedings, and taken in connection with Colonel Otter's prompt action, is of interest here :

"CUT KNIFE HILL,
"*April 29, 1885.*

"I want to hear news of the progress of God's work. If any event has occurred since your messenger came away, let me know of it. Tell me the date when the Americans will reach the Canadian Pacific Railway. Tell me all the news that you have heard from all the places where your work is in progress. Big Bear has finished his work. He has taken Fort Pitt. 'If you want me to come to you, let me know at once,' he said, 'I will be four days on the road." Those who have gone to him will sleep twice on the road. They took twenty prisoners, including the master at Fort Pitt; they killed eleven men, including the agent, two priests and six white men. We are camped on the Creek, just below Cut Knife Hill, waiting Big Bear. The Blackfeet killed sixty police at the Elbow. The half-breed who interpreted for the Police having survived the fight, though wounded, brought the news here. Here we have killed six white men. We have not taken the barracks yet, but this is the only entire building in Battleford. All the cattle and horses in the vicinity we have taken. We have lost one man, Nez Percé, killed, he being alone, and one wounded. Some soldiers have come from Swift Current, but we do not know the number. We have here guns and rifles of all sorts, but the ammunition for them is short. If it be possible we want you to send us ammunition of various kinds; we are weak only for want of that. You sent word that you would come to Battleford when you had finished your work at Duck Lake. We wait still for you, as we are unable to take the fort without help. If you send us news send only one messenger. We are impatient to reach you. It would give us courage as much to see you and make us work more heartily. Up to the present everything has gone well with us, but we are constantly expecting the soldiers to visit us here. We trust that

God will be as kind to us in the future as in the past. We, the undersigned, send greeting to you all."

"(Signed) POUNDMAKER,
" OPIN-O WAY-WIN,
" MET-TAY-WAY-IS,
" MUS-SIN-ASS,
" PEE-YAY-CHEW.

"When this reaches you, send us news immediately as we are anxious to hear the news. *If you send us news, send us as many men as possible.*"

LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED AT THE BATTLE OF BATOCHE.

List of Killed.

Gunner Wm. Phillips, "A" Battery; Lieutenant W. Fitch, Private T. Moor, 10th Grenadiers; Private R. R. Hardisty, Private James Fraser, 90th Battalion; Captain E. T. Brown, Boulton's Mounted Infantry; Captain John French, French's Scouts; Lieutenant A. W. Kippen, Intelligence Corps.

Wounded.

ROYAL CANADIAN ARTILLERY.—Gunners Wm. Fairbanks, M. Cowley, N. Charpentier, Driver T. Stout.

10TH GRENADIERS.—Major Dawson, Captain Mason, Captain Manley, Staff-Sergeant Mitchell, Corporal Foley, Privates Brisbane, Eager, Millsom, Martin, Marshall, Barber, Cantwell, Quigley, Cook, Stead, Scovell, Bugler Gaghan.

90TH BATTALION.—Major Mackeand, Sergeants F. R. Jackes, Sergeant-Major John Watson, Corporals Wm. Kemp, James Gillies; Privates Rolph, Baron, Mack, Erickson, Alex. L. Young, F. Alex. Watson.

MIDLAND BATTALION.—Lieutenant G. E. Laidlaw, Captain John Helliwell, Colour-Sergeant Wright, Sergeant Christie, Corporal Halliwell, Private Barton, Corporal Daley.

BOULTON'S MOUNTED INFANTRY.—Private W. Hope Hay.

FRENCH'S SCOUTS.—Privates Allen and Cook.

INTELLIGENCE CORPS.—Lieut. Garden, A. O. Wheeler.

ON STEAMBOAT.—Mr. Pringle, Medical Corps; Mr. McDonald, Boat's Crew; Mr. Vinen, Transport Service.

LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED AT THE BATTLE OF CUT KNIFE HILL.

Killed.

Corporal Lowry, Corporal Sleigh, and Constable Burke, of the Mounted Police; Bugler Foulkes, "C" School of Infantry; Privates Rogers, and Osgood, Governor-General's Foot Guards; Private Dobbs, Battleford Rifles; Chas. Winder, Transport.

Wounded.

Sergeant Ward, Mounted Police; Lieutenant Pelletier, 9th Battalion; Sergeant Gaffney, Gunner Reynolds, and Corporal Morton, "B" Battery, Royal Canadian Artillery; Sergeant-Major Spackman, "C" School of Infantry; Colour-Sergeant Cooper, Privates George Watts, J. S. Fraser, Charles Varey, and George Lloyd, of the Queen's Own Rifles; Private J. McQuilken and Colour-Sergeant Chas. Winter, of the Governor-General's Foot Guards; Bugler Ernest Gilbert, of the Battleford Rifles.

CHAPTER XVI.

General Strange's Column.

We must now follow the fortunes of the third column, which was sent into the interior under General Strange, an old army officer. General Strange organized his forces at Calgary, and was directed to proceed to Edmonton, two hundred miles north of Calgary, and three hundred miles to the west of Battleford, on the North Saskatchewan. His force was composed of the 65th, of Montreal, under Colonel Ouimet, three hundred and fifty strong; fifty-two Mounted Police, under Major Steele; forty-two scouts, under Major Hatton; twenty-five Mounted Police, under Captain Oswald; the Edmonton Volunteers; the Winnipeg Light Infantry, three hundred strong, under Colonel Osborne Smith, C.M.G.; and forty-six scouts under Major Perry, besides one gun. On his personal staff was Major Dale, who acted as Brigade-Major. The General had also attached to his staff the Rev. Canon McKay, of the Church of England, and the Rev. Mr. McDougall, a Methodist missionary, both of whom had resided a long time among the Indians in the Calgary and Edmonton districts, and knew the country well. General Strange placed great reliance on these local clergymen, and they became active assistants in the conduct of the column.

On the 20th of April General Strange moved out of Calgary for Edmonton, with Major Steele's scouts and the right wing of the 65th Battalion, under the command of Colonel Hughes. The left wing left on the 23rd with Major Hatton's corps, and was followed a day or two after by the Winnipeg Light Infantry, under Colonel Osborne Smith, with some Mounted Police, under Major Perry. Both detachments crossed the Bow River at the Government ford, and arrived at Edmonton on the 2nd and 5th of May respectively. Edmonton is the centre of a prosperous settlement, and is surrounded by a number of Indian reserves.

General Strange stationed half a company of the 65th, under Lieutenant Normandeau at Red Deer Crossing, and the other half, under Captain Ettieh, at the Government Ford, about forty miles from Edmonton. Captain Ostell's company was sent to the Hudson's Bay post at Battle River, Colonel Ouimet remaining at Edmonton, his headquarters. The remainder of the 65th, under Colonel Hughes, with Colonel Smith's battalion and the mounted men, went to Victoria on their way to Fort Pitt, where they were delayed for some time, not leaving again until the 21st of May. They reached Moose Hill Creek on the 24rd, and Fort Pitt on the 25th inst. General Strange had scows built to utilize the navigation and save his transport. They conveyed the 65th to Fort Pitt, keeping up communication with the remainder of the column,

which marched by the trail. But we pause first to relate what occurred at Fort Pitt previous to this date, and to describe the most tragic incident of Riel's rebellion—the Frog Lake Massacre.

Frog Lake is a beautiful sheet of water, some ten miles north of the Saskatchewan and thirty miles from Fort Pitt. At this place a Hudson's Bay post and Roman Catholic mission is established, and it is the headquarters of an Indian agency. It is surrounded by numerous tribes of Indians, many of whom live there on their reserves and trade at Fort Pitt. Among the chiefs of these tribes, the most conspicuous was Big Bear, and his band was the most troublesome the Indian agents had to control. During the winter Corporal Sleigh with five constables were stationed at Frog Lake by Inspector Dickens, at the request of Mr. Quinn, the Indian agent. After news had been received of the engagement at Duck Lake, Inspector Dickens wrote to Quinn at Frog Lake, enquiring as to the state of the Indians there. He answered that the Indians on the reserves were quite peaceably inclined, that he could keep Big Bear quiet, and did not anticipate any trouble. As Inspector Dickens did not place much confidence in Big Bear and his band, he wrote to Quinn pointing out that it would be better that the Police should be all together; that in the event of an Indian rising the few Police at Frog Lake would all be massacred. He added that all the whites had better

come into Fort Pitt, or if help were required, he would go out to them. Quinn and Delaney determined to remain at their posts, and the other whites elected to stay with them. Quinn ordered Corporal Sleigh to return to Fort Pitt with his men. Sleigh refused to leave without the ladies, but Quinn again ordered him to leave, saying that he would explain the matter to Mr. Dickens. Sleigh came in with his men and brought a letter from Quinn, in which he said that the presence of a few policemen only served to irritate the Indians, who had no animosity to the Indian Department officials, but only disliked the Police. He also asked Mr. Dickens not to send policemen as messengers, but to make use of the Hudson Bay Company's Indians and half-breeds. He also wrote that he would come in on the 2nd April to see Mr. Dickens.

For some time Big Bear refused to take treaty, and had not yet selected a reserve, which the Government was anxious to locate him on in this district. It is worthy of remark here that when Lieutenant-Governor Morris first negotiated a treaty with Big Bear, one of the conditions he fought for, was that none of his tribe should be hanged. Mr. Morris refused to entertain such a question, pointing out that if a white man should kill an Indian he would be hanged, and that if an Indian committed a murder he would have to suffer the same punishment. A number of the Indians who were hanged belonged to Big Bear's band. Big Bear had several times

before this given the Mounted Police trouble, and he and his braves were the leaders of the rebellion at this point. When the news reached them of the Duck Lake fight, and that hostilities had commenced, they immediately went on the war-path, in accordance with the programme doubtless arranged by Big Bear on his visit to Riel a few months before. In true Indian fashion his braves commenced by making excessive demands for rations, supplies and ammunition. When these demands were made, the people were taken as much by surprise as were those in the other parts of the country, for Quinn, the resident Indian agent, had only sent down word a few days before, that everything was quiet and peaceable. But with a rapidity that could not be foreseen, the Indians lost not a moment in commencing trouble. A few who were in the secret were anxious to save some of the whites who had befriended them, and gave warning in time to enable them to leave for Fort Pitt. Mr. and Mrs. Gowanlock were apprised, and came up to the mission to Delaney's, the farm instructor, where they spent a few days, and where they were rudely taken prisoners by the Indians.

At daylight on the morning of the 2nd of April, the Indians became very excited, and visited the Hudson's Bay store, demanding provisions from Mr. Simpson. They also visited Mr. Quinn's with a like demand, and from taking stores they got to taking prisoners. It was the day before Good Friday, and the Rev. Fathers Farfard and Marchand

were holding service in the church, where the people were assembled at the early morning service. All were rudely disturbed by the Indians. Father Farfard, seeing that mischief was brewing, warned the Indians against committing excesses, and the people, after leaving church, went to Delaney's house. The Indians followed and compelled them to leave there and go to their camp. While taking them to camp they, in the most wanton and cruel manner, shot down several, commencing with the Indian agent, Quinn. Mr. and Mrs. Gowanlock were walking together, and the former was shot, falling mortally wounded into his wife's arms. Delaney, who was also with his wife, was shot in like manner. The two courageous priests, seeing what was going on, interfered to try and save life, but both fell victims, Father Farfard being shot while leaning over the wounded Delaney, administering the last rites to him. Father Marchand was killed at the same time, and before the day was out, nine unfortunate people were massacred. The remainder of the party, with the tenderly reared ladies, were marched off as prisoners by these miscreants, the captive ladies fearing a worse fate.

Mr. Cameron, who was an eye-witness of the murderous scene, gives the following account of it :—

"I had just finished breakfast and gone to the store, when Miserable Man entered with an order from Quinn, probably the last writing he ever penned. It read as follows :—

"'DEAR CAMERON,—Please give Miserable Man one blanket.'

It was signed by Quinn.

"Cameron said: 'I have no blankets.' Miserable Man looked hard at him but said nothing.

"Yellow Bear said: 'Don't you see he has no blankets.' 'Well,' said Miserable Man, 'I will take something else,' and he took four or five dollars' worth of odds and ends. Just as they finished trading they heard the first shot. Miserable Man turned and rushed out. Cameron heard some one calling 'Stop! stop!' This was Big Bear, who was in the Hudson's Bay Company's store, talking to Mr. Simpson. As Cameron went out of the store he locked the door, and while he was doing this an Indian ran up and said, 'If you speak twice you are a dead man. One man spoke twice already and he is dead.' This man, Cameron soon learned, was Quinn, who had been standing with Charles Gouin, the half-breed carpenter, in front of Pritchard's house.

"Travelling Spirit had said to Quinn, 'You have a hard head. When you say no you mean no, and stick to it. Now, if you love your life, you will do as I say.' 'Why should I go?' said he. 'Never mind,' Quinn said quietly, 'I will stay here.' Travelling Spirit then levelled his gun at Quinn's head, saying, 'I tell you go,' and shot him dead. Gouin, who was an American half-breed, was shot by The Worm immediately after, on the road to the Indian Camp, a short distance from Pritchard's house. Cameron asked Yellow Bear what all this meant. Yellow Bear caught him by the hand and said, 'Come this way.' Then seeing Mrs. Simpson about to leave her house, he said, 'Go with her and leave here.' Cameron walked away with Mrs. Simpson. When they had got a short distance from the house she stopped and called Mr. Cameron's attention to the priests, who were standing about a hundred yards away, expostulating with some Indians who were loading their guns. Delaney was close by.

Suddenly the Indians raised their guns and rushed at Delaney. Father Farfard dashed up and placed himself in front of the menacing Indians, but was overpowered by numbers and thrown down, and Bare Neck shot Delaney, and then with the other barrel fired at the priests. Father Farfard and Delaney were badly wounded, and as they lay writhing, Man-Who-Wins walked up and fired at them, killing both. Father Marchand was meanwhile attempting to keep the Indians from going after the women. When he saw that Father Farfard had been killed he attempted to push his way through the crowd of Indians to reach the body, but they resisted. He was a wiry man and fought hard. Travelling Spirit, however, rushed up and shot him in the chest and head, and he fell dead. In the rush that followed a moment after this, Gowanlock was killed by The Worm. Gilchrist and Dill were together, and Little Bear, who had previously killed Williscroft, fired on them. Gilchrist fell immediately, but Dill was not hurt, and started to run, but the Indians chased him on horseback, and he was finally killed by Man-Talking-to-Another. Cameron was horror-struck on seeing the killing of the priests and Delaney, but of course he could do nothing to save them."

Of all the disasters, the outcome of this wicked rebellion, this was the most heart-rending. This cowardly tribe dignified the massacre by the title of a battle, as was disclosed in a letter sent to Lac la Biche, to excite the half-breeds and Indians there to do likewise. They said they had had a glorious battle, thirteen were killed and not one of their number hurt. This disaster was another shock to the people of Canada, whose friends had been thus cruelly murdered, and it filled the minds of the little garrison at Fort Pitt with anxiety. Pitt, thirty miles dis-

tant, was defended by only twenty-five Mounted Police, under Inspector Dickens, a son of the celebrated novelist, and in their isolated position at that season of the year, before the ice had left the river, they had no means of escape. They did not know the moment these tribes would make their appearance before them. They, however, vigorously set to work to build two scows to float themselves away from the threatening danger the moment the river should open, and tried to put the fort, which was only a fort in name, in a better state of defence. They did not know the extent of the murders that had been committed, and anxiety for so many of their friends intensified their own. Their means of communication with the outside world was entirely cut off, so they had nothing to rely upon but their own exertions.

The little garrison was strengthened by the arrival of Mann, the instructor, and by the Rev. Mr. Quinney, the Church of England Missionary, whose headquarters were at Onion Lake, not far from Frog Lake. They had received warning in a letter to Mr. Mann of approaching danger, and had come to Fort Pitt.

Mr. Quinn, the Indian agent, had confidence in these Indians, and had requested Mann, the instructor, to send some of them up to Big Bear on a council of peace, not, however, in time to prevent the attack. At daylight, on the morning of the 3rd of April, Mann's house was invaded

by Indians who brought news of the Frog Lake massacre, and some of them commenced to pillage his house. They counselled Mr. Quinney to leave with his wife, telling him of the departure of Mr. Mann with his family; in fact, Chief Cut Arm, with four of his men escorted them to within sight of Fort Pitt, lending the missionary his own horse and buckboard, which the Indians had already appropriated for their own use, upon his promising to return it, and they then left to join Big Bear.

After the excitement of the massacre, the thirst for blood seemed to be appeased; for no more life was taken. The unfortunate ladies, who suffered such grief and terror in all this cruelty, were now forced to think of themselves and their safety, and had little time to indulge their grief. There were fortunately some kind-hearted half-breed prisoners with them, viz.: Pritchard, Adolphus Nolin, Peter Blondin, and André Nault. Pritchard's first thought was for the ladies; and in Indian fashion he purchased Mrs. Gowanlock from the Indian who had her in charge, giving one of his horses for her, and brought her to his own tent to camp with his family. He then went to the Indian who had Mrs. Delaney and offered to purchase her. The Indian replied, "I will take two good horses." Pritchard had only one good horse and one poor one left, and begged him to take them, but the man refused. So Pritchard told Nolin of his difficulty, and he gave up his horse, and thus Pritchard was enabled to

bring two good horses to the Indian, and took Mrs. Delaney away to stay with Mrs. Gowanlock, through the term of their imprisonment, who were both carefully looked after by this humane half-breed and his family. By his promptitude and humanity he saved these ladies from harm. He and Panbrun, another half-breed prisoner, afterwards acted for me as guides for a short time. I found them to be trusty deserving men, and I hope that they will be rewarded.

The Indians now gave themselves up to revelry, and feasting upon the supplies and stores they had stolen. They burnt up the little village at Frog Lake, and threw the dead bodies into the cellars to cover up their deeds, mutilating one or two of them. When again getting short of provisions, they turned their steps towards the anxious little garrison, who, since they heard of the massacre, were in daily dread of an attack. It so happened that on the morning of the day they arrived, three scouts had left the fort, to ascertain the whereabouts of the Indians, and while they were away, the Indians made their appearance by another trail.

The Hudson's Bay post, or Fort Pitt, as it is called, is situated in a valley of the Saskatchewan, close to the river bank. At this point, looking to the north, one sees a gradual ascent leading to a bench of the prairie, the brow of this bench being some six hundred yards off. It was beyond this brow that the Indians encamped,

keeping themselves out of sight, and out of range of the rifles of the Police. From here Big Bear sent in a demand to the garrison, to surrender, or, as he pertinently put it, "I cannot control my braves, so you had better surrender," which, of course, was repudiated by Inspector Dickens. At the same time Big Bear wrote a pathetic note to Mr. Maclean, asking him to put aside ten blankets for him, saying that he was old, and wanted to make sure of his share, for when the pillage commenced his young men would get everything. On his trial, it came out that this chief was treated by his people with scant consideration for his comfort or respect for his orders.

The Indians remained in position, showing no signs of leaving, and Mr. Maclean, the Hudson's Bay officer in charge of Fort Pitt, who has a large experience of the Indian character, felt no anxiety, or fear in going out to speak to them. On the following morning he went to hold a parley on the brow of the hill, within sight of the fort. The object of this parley was to gain time, to allow the three scouts who were out to return in safety; Maclean himself returned to the fort. After dinner he went out once more, and this time the Indians persuaded him to go to their camp, which was out of sight of the fort. He did not like to refuse, lest it should show a want of confidence in them. He was taken to their camp to hold a council; and in pointing out to the Indians, the danger they were incurring, and that the Government would

surely punish them, a half-breed and an Indian jumped up and stood one on each side of him, and pointing their guns said, "We do not want to hear anything about the Government; that is not what we came to talk about." and forthwith made him a prisoner.

Mr. Maclean now entered into negotiations with them for the safety of the garrison; and Big Bear guaranteed that if the fort were given up to them, he would protect the families and take care of them. Maclean wrote a letter to his wife, telling her to bring the family, and join him, and advising the others to do the same. He also warned the Police to leave, as the Indians were going to burn Fort Pitt that night.

While these negotiations were going on, the three scouts, Quinn (related to the Indian agent, who was killed), Cowan, and Loasby, of the Police, who had been out to reconnoitre, returned and found the Indians encamped between them and the fort. Cowan and Loasby made a dash foı the fort, galloping through the Indian encampment. Poor Cowan's horse was shot, and he at once fell a victim, being killed after he was wounded by Louis Mongrain. Loasby was more fortunate; he got through the encampment, but when just at the brow of the hill his horse was shot. He jumped up and ran for it, but within about three hundred yards of the fort, he was shot down, receiving two severe wounds. The Indian who shot him, ran up and took his revolver and rifle,

thinking he was dead. The squaws, and boys, were going to take his body, but were fired upon by the Police from the fort, and to the joy of the garrison he got up, and walked in. Quinn, the third scout, who was more accustomed to care for himself, instead of attempting to go through the encampment, galloped off to the right, and secreted himself under the river bank, about a mile away, and at night came up to join his comrades, but to his dismay, the fort was filled with Indians. An Indian from the upper story saw him, and ran down for his rifle, but Quinn made good his retreat. He was seen, and followed by a friendly Indian, who tracked him through the snow to his hiding-place, and brought him to camp under his protection, where he remained a prisoner with the rest.

The diary of Corporal R. B. Sleigh, North-West Mounted Police, who escaped from this difficulty only to be shot a short time after, gallantly fighting at the battle of Cut Knife, is interesting as an authentic record:—

April 2.—Constable Roby left with train for Onion Lake, brought back lumber. Indians terribly excited out there. Mr. Mann, farm instructor, with wife and family, arrived at one a.m., with report all whites killed at Frog Lake. Assembled at twelve p.m. All hands working all night, blocking up windows and making loop-holes in the buildings. Double picket put on.

April 3.—Good Friday. Henry Quinn in from Frog Lake, reported all whites shot. They were led out for execution, when he ran for his life and managed to escape; poor fellow played out and showed good grit. The Indians the day before said they were going to remain quiet, and

early next morning (Thursday) took all whites prisoners. Mr. and Mrs. Quinney in from Onion Lake. An Indian brought them in. All their goods and chattels stolen. The two priests, Pères Farfard and Marchand, were first beaten and then shot. Everybody busy pulling down outside buildings, and barricading the fort.

April 4.—Johnnie Saskatchewan in from Battleford with despatches. Indians down there turning loose, and several whites killed. Reported Little Poplar and nine lodges twenty-five miles off, and coming this way. Johnnie left again for Battleford with despatches. Men busy all day.

April 5.—Sunday. Men on fatigue most of the day. Mr. Quinney (Episcopal clergyman) held short service in barracks. Indians heard shouting on hill during night. Shots fired.

April 6.—Nothing exciting.

April 7.—Stockade being erected. Indians at Frog Lake looted all the stores at that place, also the barracks on the 2nd instant. Misses Maclean show great courage, and each one, rifle in hand, stands at a loop-hole. The men work like horses, and are cheerful. All civilians sworn in and armed. Bastion put up on left front of fort. Sentries put on in each house, four hours on duty.

April 9.—Another bastion put up near orderly-room corner.

April 14.—No relief, and things look blue. Everybody in good spirits. H. Quinn, D. Cowan, and C. Loasby, with three saddle horses, went out scouting to Frog Lake. Body of Indians at top of hill, 800 yards from fort. Two hundred and fifty Indians armed and mounted. Had Dufresne, sr., and Haplin, Hudson's Bay Company, prisoners. Big Bear sent letter down. Sent word for everybody to evacuate fort, and give up arms. Doors barricaded, and men in places. Indians had big war-dance on hill. Indians skulking through woods in every direction. Mr. Maclean, of Hud-

son's Bay Company, had parley with them on hill. Double sentries in barracks. Two hundred and fifty Indians on war-path surround us.

April 15.—Mr. Maclean at noon went on hill to parley. Three scouts came galloping through towards Pitt. Constable Cowan shot dead, Loasby badly wounded and horse killed. Shots fired from loop-holes; two Indians killed. Quinn missing, and two wounded. Mr. Maclean and Francois Dufresne taken prisoners. Mr. Maclean wrote down to his wife to come out and give herself up, and all the Hudson's Bay Company's employees to do the same. The Hudson's Bay employees, twenty-two in number, gave themselves up to Big Bear. Impossible to hold fort now, so we had to gracefully retire across the river in scow, and camped for night, not forgetting to bring colors along. Nearly swamped crossing, river being rough, and scow leaking badly. General idea prevailing that we would be attacked going down river. Took Loasby along. Thus ended the siege of Fort Pitt.

April 16.—Up at 4:30, after passing a wretched night Snowing fast and very windy. Moving slow. Several men frost-bitten. Clothing frozen on our backs. Had some narrow escapes in ice jams. Camped at nine for dinner. Resumed trip at noon.

April 18.—Started at seven a.m. Day dull and cold. Much ice running.

April 19.—Sunday. Left Slap Jack Island at 7:13 a.m. Ran for five hours. Camped on Beaver Island, number 35. Ran on three hours, and camped on Pine Island for night.

April 20.—Here all day. Barricaded the scow. Inspected arms. Rough-looking parade. Wounded man better.

April 21.—Left island at seven a.m. Eleven a.m. hailed interpreter, Joseph Alexander, and two policemen on south bank. They had despatches for us. They reported

Battleford safe, and troops expected daily. Ran all day, and stopped on Small Island for the night. River falling rapidly. Struck on sand-bars. All slept on board scow. Two men on picket.

April 22.—Started at 5:45 a.m., and reached Battleford at nine a.m. Garrison turned out and presented arms. Police band played us into fort. Enthusiastic greeting. Ladies gave us a grand dinner.

Mr. Maclean having now become a prisoner, his family, with the remainder of the people in the fort, who were all more or less acquainted with the Indians in their trading with them, determined, on the receipt of his letter, to go and join him. They resolved to throw themselves upon the mercy of Big Bear. Mann, it appears, had not been included in the surrender, and dreading the journey in the scow for his young family, sent word to Mr. Maclean that he too wished to take his chances; and thus the second move in Big Bear's proceedings was successful.

Inspector Dickens, having no further reason to protect the fort, which was now rendered more difficult, on account of the number of prisoners in the hands of Big Bear, determined upon retreating to Battleford in the scow. Taking Loasby, their wounded comrade, the Police moved across the river that night and camped on the opposite shore. The next morning they all set out for Battleford in the midst of ice, which was running in the river. The trip was most dangerous; but the little force, suc-

cessfully floated down in the cold and storm, reaching Battleford providentially without a mishap, in six days.

Mr. Maclean now did his best to conciliate the Indians To meet Big Bear's views, he suggested, that he should go down and deal out the stores in Fort Pitt, so that all might get an equal share; and as he further urged, it would have the appearance of their having been given, instead of being stolen; which would be in their favour. Mr. Maclean had twenty thousand dollars' worth of fur, and he hoped, by this stratagem, to save it by giving up the provisions. He also hoped to be able, by aid of his memory, to chalk down against individuals whatever was taken, for a future reckoning. This proposition, struck the Indians as being a very equitable one, and would have been accepted; but some of the squaws, more eager than the rest to secure their share, had slipped down, under the cover of dusk, and were helping themselves, so that when it became known, there was a general rush, and the pillage, and destruction that ensued, was a sight to witness. Provisions were wasted most shamefully, and destruction was rampant. The prisoners looked on in dismay.

Big Bear and his tribes having secured the booty, now moved about from one point to another, and being well stocked with provisions, they took it leisurely and did not move far. He sent emissaries down to Poundmaker, who arrived just after the battle of Cut Knife, and came back,

describing what had occurred there, telling about the tepees they had seen, full of dead bodies, which Poundmaker had left in his camp at Cut Knife Creek. Poundmaker, in the meantime, had sent word to Big Bear to come down and join him, but Big Bear and his councillors, thought they were well enough off where they were, and made no attempt to move from their own neighbourhood.

It is wonderful how these prisoners, thirty in number, most of them tender children, could have been dragged about from camp, to camp, between the 16th of April, and the 28th May, without rousing the evil spirit of some of the Indians. The credit of this is entirely due, to some friendly tribes of Wood Crees, who were not in sympathy with Big Bear, but who had been forced to join him or suffer themselves. Their presence was most opportune for the safety of the unfortunate prisoners. They were shrewd enough to know that by befriending them, it would tell in their favour, when the day of reckoning came, and they were prepared to fight in their defence, should any attempt be made to harm them. I might here observe, that there is a difference between the Indians who gain their livelihood in the woods, and those who gain their livelihood on the plains. In our chase after Big Bear, we were struck with the beautiful reserves, and the great resources, at the disposal of these Wood Indians —lakes teeming with fish, woods filled with the most

valuable fur and wild fowl and game of the greatest variety, with ample timber for building purposes, and for fuel, and pasture for cattle, of which they had a herd. All these advantages, undoubtedly, made the Indians value the peacefulness of their homes, much more highly than the Plain Indians, who wander far and wide on the boundless prairie, and who had been deprived of their main source of profit, support, and excitement, by the disappearance of the buffalo. To the friendly aid of these Wood Crees, who were equal in number, to those from the Plains, Mr. Maclean attributes the safety of his people, and their ultimate release.

Until the appearance of General Strange's column, these Indians had received no check, and were no doubt lulled to a sense of security. On the 25th April they camped in a pretty glade, a short distance from a strong position called Frenchman's Butte, which is one of those high hills, broken by precipitous gullies, on the side of the valley of the Little Red Deer River, and resembling the position of Cut Knife Hill. Here the Indians determined, to hold a thirst or sundance, and for the purpose, they put up a huge lodge, about a hundred feet in diameter, big enough to hold a respectably-sized circus audience. It was made of poles, lashed together with shaggannappi, with a railing across one side, where the chief men witnessed the performance, and initiation, of the braves. The favourite mode of initiation, is to make two parallel

incisions, on each breast, or in the back, and then to work a hole beneath each with the fingers. To this is attached, after the manner of a seton, a lariat, or more familiarly, a lasso. The ends are then attached, to the centre pole of the lodge, or held by others, and the brave commences his dance to the monotonous beat of the tom-tom, at the full stretch of the shaggannappi, dancing wildly until from the excitement of the music, and ecstasy of initiation he causes the flesh to give way, and so proves himself to be a brave. When the incisions are in the back, a buffalo, or deer's head, is attached, and the brave dances till it is torn off.

However, before these ceremonies had got well under way, they were rudely disturbed, by the information that the Police were near, and such a skedaddling, and skurrying as followed, the prisoners say, it is impossible to describe. But it raised an altogether opposite feeling in the breasts of the captives, as they felt, that liberation was now close at hand. The prisoners, and the families were at once moved off across the valley of the Little Red Deer, taking up a position in the gully, leading into it, on the opposite side, where the Indians spent the night in making rifle-pits, and throwing up defences for the morrow's battle. Some of the prisoners now determined to break away from their durance vile. Pritchard, with the ladies and a few other prisoners, besides a large party of half-breeds, made secret arrangements, to take advan-

tage of the first opportunity to gain their liberty. Mr. and Mrs. Quinney, with Mr. Cameron, and a few others, had also arranged to slip off, as soon as the Indians were so engaged, that they would not be missed. So the events of the morrow were awaited with anxiety, and hope. At daylight on the morning of the 28th, the main occupants of the camp were sent on, about four miles into the interior, to get out of the way. The prisoners heard the booming of the cannon, and the volleys of musketry, during the morning, and awaited anxiously the result; but the Indians came rushing into camp, abandoning their provisions, in fact abandoning everything, and fled north, carrying their prisoners with them. Pritchard's party, and the Rev. Mr. Quinney's party, were determined to make good their escape, but did not succeed until the following Monday, the day General Middleton arrived on the scene.

The hardships the prisoners were forced to undergo, can hardly be imagined, but their joy at being released, made them soon forget the past. They brought news of the safety of all the prisoners, about whom, so much anxiety had been felt, and gave a detailed account of their adventures.

The following are the Fort Pitt victims: Thomas Quinn, Indian Agent, from Minnesota. John Williscroft, from the county of Grey, Ontario, employed at the time, in erecting Mr. Gowanlock's saw mill at Frog's Lake. Mr. Gowanlock, only twenty-eight years of age, hailed from

Seaforth, Ontario, had moved to Frog Lake two years ago, and with his partner, Mr. Laurie, had put up a grist and saw mill, much to the benefit of the district. John Delaney, Farm Instructor to the Agency at this point, was from Ottawa. Charles Gouin was a Californian, a carpenter assisting in the construction of the Agency buildings at Frog Lake. William C. Gilchrist, twenty-one years of age, from Woodville, Ontario, had come to the North-West in 1883, with a surveying party. The Rev. Father Farfard, only thirty years of age, a Roman Catholic missionary, labouring among the Indians for the last ten years, was ordained in Montreal, and was considered one of the most active missionaries in the North-West. The Rev. Father Marchand, only twenty-six, came from France a few years ago to act as missionary. George Dill, of Bracebridge, Ontario, conducted a trading-post at Frog Lake, at the time of his murder. These unfortunate men were shot down, in what the Indians are pleased to call a fight, consisting of nothing more, than working themselves into a state of frenzy, and excitement, and shooting these men from behind their backs, while prisoners in their hands and perfectly defenceless. Such was the pride with which they viewed their villainous act, that they not unfrequently came almost to blows, in claiming the "honour" of having shot their man, all of which, the unfortunate prisoners who understood their language, were obliged to listen to.

To complete this story we must now transfer ourselves to General Strange's column. General Strange arrived at Fort Pitt, on the 25th of May, having passed Frog Lake, the scene of the massacre, where he buried the dead he found there. Fort Pitt was still burning, having been lately set on fire; and on the evening of the 26th, Major Steele, preparatory to crossing the river, which General Strange purposed doing, was sent out scouting towards Onion Lake, to ascertain, if the Indians were in the neighbourhood. At dawn, when about five miles east of Fort Pitt, Major Steele came across a few Indians, who fired upon his party, without doing any damage. He returned the fire, killing an Indian, who was recognized afterwards to be a chief from Saddle Lake. His name was Mamanook. He reported the result of his reconnaissance to General Strange, who now knew, that Big Bear could not be far off, and he determined to advance that day. He marched, with one hundred and seventy-five men of Colonel Smith's battalion, the Mounted Police, the Scouts, and the Alberta Mounted Rifles, under the command of Majors Steele and Hatton, —about three hundred in all. He took with him a nine-pounder. About a hundred of the 65th, under Colonel Hughes, descended the river in a scow for some ten miles, leaving Captain Giroux with his company of the 65th to defend Fort Pitt. About mid-day, some Indians were encountered ten miles down the river. The 65th

were now ordered to leave the scow, to reinforce the General. This they promptly did, leaving behind them their blankets, greatcoats and everything, excepting their ammunition, which they carried with them, till they reached a waggon to load it on. A number of Indians, now showed themselves and opened fire, shouting, with their usual bravado to come on, but they disappeared, under the fire of the nine-pounder, and upon the advance of the troops. The column advanced some two miles farther, and bivouacked for the night, where they were joined by the 65th, who had brought with them neither blanket, nor greatcoat, and had to bivouac as best they could. The waggons arrived about eight o'clock in the evening. They again marched at daybreak in an easterly direction. The Police and Scouts deployed as skirmishers, the 65th, forming the advance guard about twenty yards behind, then followed the nine-pounder, and the waggons and the Winnipeg Light Infantry as rear guard.

About two miles farther on, they came upon the place, where the Indians had been so hurriedly disturbed, in the thirst dance before described, which took place, it is supposed, the previous afternoon. Passing this, the column advanced about a mile farther to the edge of a deep ravine, which was the valley of the Little Red Deer River. This river winds through the bottom of a marshy valley, covered in places with willow scrub. Some Indians could be seen off to the left, retreating with their carts.

The nine-pounder was brought to bear, and dropped a shell in their midst, which was answered by a volley of bullets, from the ridge on the opposite side of the valley, at five or six hundred yards range. The Police and Scouts now advanced into the valley, in skirmishing order, followed by the 65th, and Colonel Smith's battalion, covered by the nine-pounder, which kept up a steady fire on the opposite ridge, where the Indians were in force. For about three hours this position was maintained, the troops receiving, and answering the fire of the enemy.

Major Steele was now sent off to make a reconnaissance to the left, and Major Hatton to the right. They returned and reported the hills and gullies to be swarming with Indians, and General Strange feeling, that with so small a force, and no supports nearer than Battleford, it was useless to go on, determined to retire and await reinforcements. So the troops were withdrawn and retired up the hill, covered by the Winnipeg Light Infantry. In this engagement two of the 65th, privates La May and Marcotte, and Macrae of the Police, were wounded.

General Strange retired to Fort Pitt, arriving there on the following day. He at once sent two men off, in a canoe down the river, to report the engagement to General Middleton. Previous to the engagement, Major Perry with his men had crossed the river, and gone down to Battleford on the south side, and while returning on the steamboat from Battleford, they met the canoe coming

down. The steamboat had been sent up to Fort Pitt with supplies, to General Strange, with one company of the 90th, under Captain Forrest. It landed Major Perry and his men, and returned to report to General Middleton.

In this engagement the troops behaved admirably. and not only would they have held their own all day, but were anxious to advance. General Strange, however, had brought his waggons and transport on to the scene of action, and remembering he had no supports, he became cautious, and ordered a retirement, without having inflicted that chastisement on Big Bear's tribe which they so richly deserved. When he advanced once more the wily Indian was well away through the swamps and woods to the north. On the 2nd of June General Strange marched his column to the Red Deer, and once more took up a position near the scene of the late engagement.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PURSUIT OF BIG BEAR.

PRINCE ALBERT is a stirring place, with a number of important interests, including good educational facilities. It is situated on the north branch of the Saskatchewan River, and is a point of call for steamboats plying between Lake Winnipeg, and the west. The surrounding country is very picturesque; the land is of excellent quality, and well settled. The advantages of the district are evident, from having drawn so large a population from the outer world, including men of wealth, birth, and education, to find a field for their industry in so remote a region. There had been a good deal of discontent among the people, which caused some of them to mix themselves up with Riel. This discontent arose chiefly from the want of railway facilities, and continued isolation from the markets of the world. The people began to be impatient, looking, year after year for the long-expected railway facilities, so necessary to their material prosperity, and their discontent found vent in agitation. Beyond a few turbulent spirits, however, there is not a more loyal or more industrious class in the country. It is to be hoped that the railway communica

tion, so essential to the development of the country, will be pushed on. Towards this desirable end, two railway corporations are pushing their way into the interior—the Manitoba and North-Western Railway to Prince Albert, and the North-West Central to Battleford, both of which will attract and encourage a local population—an important desideratum in the development of the country.

Our two days in Prince Albert, were much enjoyed by the troops, but the General was impatient to be off, to join Colonel Otter at Battleford, and to push on to Fort Pitt, and complete the task of restoring peace, and protection to the country. He took with him the Midland battalion, "A" Battery, and my two troops on one steamer, leaving the other two steamers to bring the 90th and the Grenadiers. The transport, under the escort of the Intelligence Corps, and Captain Brittlebank's men (Captain Brittlebank had been appointed to the command of the late Captain French's scouts), were ordered to march by land, crossing the river at Fort Carlton, by the north trail. We arrived at Fort Carlton at 7 o'clock the following morning, and visited the ruins of this now historic place. After leaving Carlton, a deputation from Poundmaker was met on the bank of the river, awaiting the arrival of General Middleton. Poundmaker had received the news of Riel's defeat and capture, and wishing to make peace, immediately despatched a letter to the General, of which the following is a copy :—

"SIR,—I am camped with my people at the east end of Eagle Hills, where I am reached by the news of the surrender of Riel. No letter came with the news, so I cannot tell how far it may be true. I send some of my men to you to learn the truth and terms of peace, and hope you will deal kindly with us. I and my people wish you to send us the terms in writing, so that we may be under no misunderstanding, from which so much trouble arises. We have twenty-one prisoners, whom we have tried to treat well in every respect. With greeting.

"(Signed) POUNDMAKER." His × Mark.

General Middleton was on the steamer *Northcote, en route* for Battleford, when he received the message, and sent back Poundmaker's runner with the following reply:

"POUNDMAKER,—I have utterly defeated the half-breeds and Indians, and have made a prisoner of Riel and most of his council. I have made no terms with them, neither will I make terms with you. I have men enough to defeat you and your people, or at least drive you away to starve in the woods, and will do so unless you bring in the teams you took. Yourself and your councillors to meet me with your arms at Battleford on Tuesday, the 26th. I am glad to hear that you treated the prisoners well, and have released them. (Signed)

"FRED. MIDDLETON, *Major-General.*"

When Poundmaker's deputation had been dismissed with this reply, we proceeded on our way to Battleford, arriving there the same night. Here we found, that a similar communication had been sent by Poundmaker to Colonel Otter, showing that he was very anxious to come to terms.

After disembarking, we pitched our camp alongside Colonel Otter's, on the plateau near the town, where the General awaited the arrival of the remainder of his column, and the expected surrender of Poundmaker and his braves.

After the battle of Cut Knife, an event occurred which threatened to interfere with our movements; namely, the capture of a transport train by Poundmaker. Feeling no longer safe in his proximity to Battleford, Poundmaker determined to move east to join Riel, who, after the battle of Fish Creek, had sent him urgent appeals to hasten to his standard. He was on his way thither, when, crossing the main trail from Swift Current, a transport train of bullock teams, with forage and supplies, had the misfortune to be passing. The opportunity was too good to be lost. The teamsters were surprised and surrounded, but they immediately formed a corral with their waggons, which brought on a parley. The Indians sent forward a half-breed to negotiate, and the safety of the teamsters was guaranteed, on condition of their quietly surrendering. This they did, and were at once conducted in triumph to Poundmaker's camp. A portion of their experiences may be gathered from the following account given to the correspondent of the Montreal *Star*:—

"About nine o'clock on Thursday, the 14th instant, the forage-trains were passing through a piece of open, surrounded by wooded bluffs, about eight miles from Battleford, when the teamster in front observed mounted men

closing in upon them from all sides. At first they were inclined to think that the newcomers were friends, but a few piercing war-whoops, uttered from a place of cover, convinced them that they had been ambushed. Notwithstanding the utter suddenness of the attack, many of the drivers did not lose their wits, but made a hastily improvised laager. By this time the Indians, who numbered about a hundred, led by paint-bedaubed half-breeds, approached, gesticulating and shouting at the same moment, without firing a single shot. The rear was not well guarded, and while the excitement continued in front, six or seven teamsters, who owned horses, cut loose and made their escape amid a heavy fusilade. Meantime, the Indians approached nearer and nearer the laager, while twenty of their number went in pursuit of the retreating horsemen. The enemy finally sent a half-breed towards the waggons. Throwing down his weapon, to show his good intentions, the man advanced within fifty yards and called for one of their number. The head teamster responded and walked towards him. A brief discussion followed, the breed promising that their lives would be spared if they would quietly surrender. The teamsters immediately gave up their arms, consisting of sixteen Winchesters, two Sniders, and three shot-guns. After robbing each prisoner of every valuable, the Indians, who were overjoyed at their success, began to examine the contents of the various waggons, and in a few minutes a start was made for the Indian camp, which was pitched in a ravine about four miles west of the Swift Current trail. The prisoner teamsters were compelled to drive the oxen. Soon the warlike "Stonys," who had not been present at the capture, galloped up and attempted to shoot the prisoners. The half-breeds, however, proved themselves to be endowed with some redeeming traits, and frustrated this cruel design. Rifles were levelled by both parties, and the determined stand taken by the half-breeds alone saved the teamsters from a cruel death.

"As the train approached the Indian camp, squaws and toddling papooses poured out from every tepee, and advanced with cheers of joy to greet the returning braves. The females, at sight of the prisoners, were especially boisterous, and shouted to the braves to put them to death. Through the jeering, howling, yelling mass, the frightened drivers were hustled, every moment expecting to be struck down from behind. Finally they were conducted to a ravine close to the camp, and after receiving a parting shout from the ugly squaws, they were left to their own reflections. A strong guard surrounded them, precluding all possibility of escape. The Indians held a formal council to discuss the propriety of shooting the teamsters, but decided not to do so. Shortly afterwards Poundmaker put in an appearance in the ravine. After shaking hands with each man in turn, the redoubtable chief assured them, through a half-breed interpreter, that their lives would be spared. He added that he was aware there was a Manitou above, and that he could not permit them to be slain without cause. Poundmaker then left, and shortly afterwards the Indians struck camp. Tepee-poles were thrown down in a twinkling by the squaws, who, assisted by young boys and girls, rapidly packed everything away in carts and waggons already in line for the start. Bucks lolled around, whiffing 'kineekinick' (tobacco) from long-stemmed pipes, or attended to the trappings of their horses, while youngsters, scarcely able to crawl about, drove in the cattle. Finally a start was made, and preceded by twenty-five or thirty scouts riding a mile ahead, the disorganized mob moved eastwards on their way to reinforce Riel. Instead of proceeding in column, the Indians moved along in extended order, leaving a trail behind them over two miles wide. First came about three hundred and sixty war-painted braves, mounted on wiry ponies, or on the more powerful animals stolen in the early raids. Next came Red River carts, waggons, and every other variety of vehicle ever manu-

factured. Each was loaded with plunder or tepee-poles, while perched on top were seated old men, armed with bows and arrows. Behind, followed a chaotic mass of waggons and carts, surrounded by lowing cattle and little boys on foot. Other Indian lads added to the grotesqueness of the scene, and mounted on young colts kept up to the moving outfit. Further in rear, at a distance of half a mile, came other herds of cattle, while bringing up the whole came another herd of horses. Young girls and squaws were mounted, several of the females riding along on oxen. In this manner, the followers of Poundmaker covered three miles an hour with ease."

These teamsters were released, as soon as Poundmaker made up his mind to surrender, and to the relief of their friends they came into Battleford.

While awaiting the arrival of the transport from Prince Albert, the General celebrated the Queen's birthday, by a divisional parade of the two columns. A salvo of artillery, and a *feu-de-joie* were fired, and three hearty cheers given in honour of her Majesty, followed by a march past. This imposing ceremony, performed by so large a number of troops, could not fail to impress the half-breeds and Indians, who were now flocking in to surrender themselves. The first detachment to arrive, was a camp of French half-breeds, who had been with Poundmaker all this time, but, as they claimed, in the position of prisoners. They approached with a long string of horses, carts, and waggons, with their families and all their household goods, and had every appearance of being a prosperous community. On the following day, to the great interest of

the troops, came Poundmaker, with a number of his councillors and braves, having left their camp some ten miles out. (The teamster prisoners had before marched in.) They brought with them two hundred and seven stand of arms in waggons.

General Middleton arranged to have a pow-wow with Poundmaker in the afternoon, to hear what he had to say for himself, and this was one of the most interesting features of the campaign. The grim old soldier was seated in front of his tent, surrounded by his officers, in the midst of the largest camp of soldiers, that had ever visited the North-West territories. Arraigned before him were the various chiefs, councillors, and braves, to answer for their conduct during the outbreak. Similar pow-wows had often been held in treaty-making, and on other occasions, when there was only the moral force of the country behind its officers; but here, the Indians could see a portion of the physical force of the Dominion, with which they had to contend—a force that had been successful in overcoming their leader at Batoche, and had in a short time penetrated the fastnesses of these tribes, no doubt deemed by them, an impossibility for soldiers to accomplish.

The Indians squatted themselves in a semi-circle in front of the General, to the number of sixty or seventy. They were well dressed in their fashion, being painted up in war costume. Some of the men were

adorned with kid gloves, others had on ladies' hats and feathers, and all presented a most picturesque group. The talking commenced through Hourie, the chief interpreter. The General, in his matter-of-fact way, desired them to keep to plain facts, and to leave the flowery embellishments of their Indian tongue to one side for the present. It was impossible, however, to prevent them commencing with the earth, the sky, the grass, the sun, etc., one and all, young and old, seeming to be imbued with the allegorical style of oratory, and unable to express themselves without this verbiage. Poundmaker knew nothing. He claimed that he had done his best, to keep his braves in order, and seemed to think that having come to make terms of peace, was quite sufficient merit, to entitle him to every consideration. He is a fine-looking Indian, and one cannot help being interested in him. He is undoubtedly clever, and had the honour of accompanying the Marquis of Lorne, in his trip through the country in 1881, who enjoyed nothing better than listening to his tales, over the camp-fire, through an interpreter. One brave after another told his story, commencing with a desire to shake hands with the General, who, however, steadily refused, telling them that he never would shake hands with bad Indians. They must first prove themselves good. After several had spoken, a squaw came forward, and was anxious to have her say, but the General said he never listened to women. The statement was pertinently made that the Queen was

a woman, and that she ruled the country; but the General readily answered, that the Queen, though ruler, only spoke through her councillors, and with that the indignant squaw had to be satisfied. After hearing all they had to say, the General made them the following address:—

"After many years of peace," began the General, "when the half-breeds rose in rebellion, these Indians rose to join them. The Indians all around here, like Poundmaker's band, rose, thinking the white man would be beaten. They did not hesitate to murder. All round they attacked the stores of the Hudson's Bay Company and others, and killed men and women, and thought they were going to have their own way. Instead of saying when you heard of the half-breeds' rebellion, 'now is the time to show how we value the kindness of the white man to us,' you turned upon us. This very band of Poundmaker's was going to join the enemy, and if we had been beaten they would have done more murder. And now when you find the head rebel-chief, Riel, and the other warriors are beaten, you come in and tell all sorts of lies, and beg for peace. You thought the Government had no more men; you thought you were better fighters; that you could lie in ambush in the bluffs and shoot us down. Now we have shown you there is no use of lying in the bluffs and pits, that we can drive you out and kill you."

POUNDMAKER—"True."

MIDDLETON—"Up to this time you Indians have been in the habit of going to the settlers' houses, saying you were hungry and wanted food, and frightened the women. Let the Indians understand that they must do so no more, and that if one more white man is killed ten Indians will suffer in consequence. If any disturbance takes place, and if any of the young men think they can go and rob and pillage, they will find themselves much mistaken, and all the men will suffer. More soldiers are

now coming here, and if Poundmaker had not come in, I would have followed him and killed every one of his men if necessary. We want to live in peace with the red man, but we can't allow you to go on in this way, and the sooner you understand that the better. I am only a soldier, and I do not know what the Government will do in the matter, but I have no doubt you will be helped to live in the future by the cultivation of the land as in the past. If Big Bear doesn't do the same as you have, I will take my troops and go after him and his men. I have received orders from the Government at Ottawa to detain as prisoners Poundmaker, Lean-Man, Mud-Blanket, Breaking-Through-the-Ice, and White Bear. The rest of you and your people had better return quietly to your reserves, giving up the men who did the murders. No agent at present will live among you, after the way you have behaved, so that you will have to come and get your rations here, once a week."

After the General's demand for the murderers to be given up, one of the braves, called Wa-Wa-Nitch (the man without blood), came forward and sat himself down cross-legged immediately in front of the General. Taking his feet in his hands, he confessed to the murder of Tremont, as I have before described. When that scene was over, another Indian, named Ikta, who had stripped himself to the waist, came forward, and made a similar confession of having murdered Payne, the farm instructor. The General ordered four of the leading chiefs whom he named, with these two murderers, to be made prisoners, and the remainder were allowed to return to their reserves. Wa-Wa-Nitch, on his way up to the fort, made signs to Poundmaker indicative of hanging, which was

intended to convey, 'I am going to be hanged; I am a brave man, and I don't care." The Mounted Police were now instructed to ascertain, who were guilty of the minor crimes, of stealing, committing depredations, etc., and made several arrests. The remainder of the Indians and half-breeds, returned to their respective camps.

Cut Knife Hill was visited, where tepees with dead bodies in them were found, as reported by Big Bear's emissaries. The Indians, now deprived of their means of subsistence, which had been so plentiful for the past two months, had a hard time of it. Proverbially thriftless, the Indian will feast inordinately, upon whatever he may have at the time, taking no thought for the morrow; hence the plentiful supplies they had feloniously gathered, were about consumed. The General told them to come to Battleford, in order to get rations; but the dread of showing themselves in the country, filled with soldiers and scouts, prevented them from taking advantage of the offer for some time.

The next day the General went down on a visit to Moosomin's reserve, about eighteen miles to the west of Battleford, taking my men as escort. We found comfortable houses, ploughed fields, and everything that denotes industry, and comfort. Moosomin was a loyal Indian, and proud of his loyalty. He had gone off with his tribe to the north of the Saskatchewan, to get out of the way of Poundmaker and his tribe, that he might not be drawn

in, to commit disloyal acts. He was still absent from his reserve, but on the following day, he came into Battleford to visit the General, and was warmly thanked for his steadfastness, and loyalty, which pleased the old man greatly.

Being cut off by several hundred miles from all telegraph communications, nothing for some time, had been heard of General Strange's movements. Scouts were sent out. to ascertain if any trace of Big Bear could be found, between Fort Pitt and Battleford, as it was suspected he was on his way to join Poundmaker. On Friday, Major Perry, of the Police force, marched down with his men from Fort Pitt, on the south side of the river, and though, he had left before General Strange's encounter with Big Bear, he was able to give a detailed account, of General Strange's movements up to that time. The steamboat was at once sent, in charge of Mr. Bedson, with Captain Forrest, and one company of the 90th as an escort, laden with supplies and forage for General Strange at Fort Pitt. Major Perry, with his men, returned, on board the steamer, and when half way to Fort Pitt, a canoe was met, bringing news of General Strange's engagement with Big Bear. Mr. Bedson landed Major Perry, to continue his march, and returned with the steamer for further orders.

At eight o'clock p.m., orders were issued, for the troops to hold themselves in readiness, to embark early the next

morning. The General took the infantry, and went in the steamboats to Fort Pitt. The mounted men he ordered to march by the south trail, guided by Mr. McKay of the Hudson's Bay Company, a brother of the Rev. Canon McKay, with General Strange's column, and a brother also of Mr. McKay, of Prince Albert, who played so important a part in the Duck Lake fight, and another brother belonged to French's scouts.

On a bright Sunday morning we started, and made the ninety miles in two days, reaching Fort Pitt, almost simultaneously with the infantry. On Tuesday morning, we crossed the river to the encampment, where we met Captain Leacock, the provincial member for our district. He had been left here with a small detachment, to advise General Middleton, that General Strange had left that day, to return, and take up his position at Frenchman's Butte, the scene of the late engagement.

Now commenced, a fresh campaign after Big Bear, for General Middleton was determined not to leave the country, until every insurgent tribe had been brought into subjection. Before General Middleton disembarked, General Strange despatched Major Steele, with seventy-five mounted men upon Big Bear's trail. On Wednesday morning, the day after our arrival at our new encampment, the General ordered his mounted men, consisting of fifty Mounted Police, under Colonel Herchmer; forty Intelligence Corps, under Captain Dennis; sixty of my

corps, and twenty of Captain Brittlebank's men to advance to General Strange's position. After giving orders to Colonel Van Straubenzie, to form up the infantry brigade at Fort Pitt, he followed himself, in the afternoon with fifty of the Grenadiers, fifty of the Midland, and fifty of the 90th, under the command of Major Hughes, of the Midland. "B" Battery, under Major Short, with the gatling under Lieutenant Rivers, also accompanied the General, while Captain Peters, of "A" Battery, acted as transport officer.

I was accompanied by the late Colonel Williams, and two or three other officers, who wished to survey the scene of General Strange's engagement, and after a march of twelve miles we reached the place. We passed through the camp where the sun-dance had been held, which showed traces of about one hundred and seventy-five tepees, or lodges, and evident signs of a hurried flight; all the tepee poles were left strewn about. These poles, are made of light spruce sticks, and take about twelve to each tepee, the tepee itself, being composed of dressed moose or deer skins, sewn together to cover the poles. Two miles farther on, we came upon the camp, and the rifle-pits, where bacon, flour, carts and waggons, of every description—a heterogeneous collection, of savage, and civilized articles—were found. The position was a strong one, but had been hurriedly selected. The careful preparations which Poundmaker had made, for the protection of

his position were wanting. As I rode round the heights with the late Colonel Williams, a dog which had been left behind sprang out of the bush, challenging our intrusion. We looked in and discovered a pup being suckled by its mother, both having been left behind by the Indians. Colonel Williams jumped off his horse and secured the pup, intending to bring it home to his little boy as a memento of Big Bear's camp. He carried it all the way back to Fort Pitt in a birch-bark basket, which he picked up at the sun-dance camp. I mention the circumstance, for Little Bear, as Colonel Williams called the pup, was an object of great interest, and was brought carefully home to Port Hope. We arrived about twelve o'clock, and camped beside General Strange, who had just struck tents preparatory to moving off to Onion Lake on a more westerly trail towards Beaver River. General Middleton, with the three infantry companies, arrived at three o'clock in the afternoon.

That night, at twelve o'clock, a messenger came back from Major Steele, to say that he had caught up to Big Bear's band, forty-five miles from this point, and had had an engagement with him. Major Steele had left Frenchman's Butte at ten o'clock on Tuesday morning, and picked up Big Bear's trail a few miles from there ; following it up he came upon a portion of his band the next morning at seven o'clock, having had one man wounded on the march. He surprised the Indians on this side of a

ford leading across a small bay in Loon Lake (a large sheet of water not shown on the map), and had an engagement lasting two hours, during which time two of his men were wounded. We found out afterwards that he had killed four Indians, thereby inflicting some punishment on this tribe, although unfortunately one of the killed was Chief Cut Arm, who had befriended Mr. Quinney. This was a plucky, well-executed march and attack. Major Steele pushed on, with only three days' rations, through the dense woods which Big Bear had traversed, and gallantly followed with his little body of men, finally reaching Big Bear's camp. Had he sent for supports when he struck Big Bear's trail, he would no doubt have brought the Indians to bay, but for want of rations and support he could pursue the attack no further, and retired with his three wounded men. General Middleton having now ascertained that Big Bear had escaped to the north, through the forests and muskegs with which that part of the country abounds, this district had to be penetrated.

With that object in view, the General sent orders to Colonel Otter to march north, parallel to him, from Battleford to Turtle Lake, to endeavour to intercept any Indian tribes escaping east, leaving Major Dawson, of the Grenadiers, who had recovered from his wound, in command at Battleford. Orders were also sent to Colonel Irvine, at Prince Albert, to march north from there to Green Lake,

he himself intending to follow Big Bear's trail, as General Strange had expressed a wish to move to Beaver River by a more westerly trail. In the meantime we had received news of the prisoners and Big Bear's movements. The Rev. Mr. Quinney and his wife, who had made their escape and wandered back to try and find the troops were attracted by the whistle of the steamboat, and in Mrs. Quinney's own words, I give her account of their escape:—

"The Indian, Longfellow, was friendly, and we owe our escape to him. He never slept that night, watching lest any of Big Bear's braves should come. The first we knew of the presence of troops was when entrenched in the ravine, where we heard firing, and we also heard it the next day. This was the occasion of General Strange's engagement, but none of us knew anything about it, except that we heard the firing. We made a further march of about eight miles through the thick bush. We continued marching until Sunday, on which day we rested in the woods, and Mr. Quinney held service. Previous to this, Mr. Quinney wished Longfellow to let him and me go, as I was not able to tramp through the bush. But the answer was, 'Yes, but if you go we must send you to Big Bear's camp.' On Saturday Mr. Quinney told me that when the order to start was given that I was to refuse to go any farther north, and I did so, and my husband also refused; but we learned afterwards that had we gone back that morning, Mr. Quinney would have been killed, as an Indian had gone back and was in waiting to shoot him as he passed. Fortunately my husband decided to go on with the Indians, and it was not until Monday that my husband finally made up his mind to escape. On that day when the order was given to go on, my husband, Halpin, Cameron, Dufresne (father

and son), and family, myself and others, started back. Longfellow made no resistance to our going, but was willing that we should escape. I asked him if he was sure the Indians were willing also, as I feared some of them might come after us, and he said they were all willing. We were a strange lot; some of the women were carrying children and some of the children were walking, and all of us suffering from the hardships of the march. The first day, we got about twelve miles away from the Indians, when we camped. Mr. Quinney, Mr. Dufresne, and Cameron, left us in charge of three men, and went to find General Strange's column. We remained where we had been left, and all night the men left with us watched Early the next morning, we heard three shots fired, which was the signal that our party had returned. They had found the soldiers, and a few minutes afterwards about twelve mounted men rode up with eatables and other necessaries, and I need not say we were all rejoiced and happy. When we finally reached the soldiers' camp, our party were welcomed by the men, who all turned out to greet us with three hearty British cheers."

General Middleton, on the following morning, after the arrival of Steele's courier, ordered the mounted men, one gun of "A" Battery, and the gatling, with the three infantry companies, under Major Hughes, to march to the support of Major Steele. Our little column had now to cross swamps and bogs, and through brush, which made our progress slow; but we kept strictly to the trail which Big Bear had taken. The great interest of the march was inspecting his camps as we passed them, which always contained something hurriedly abandoned. At one camp we found a quantity of fur hid in the woods. We found unmistakable evidences of the recent presence of the prisoners in

the locality, with an occasional message dropped by Mr. Maclean. At the first camp we picked up a silver mug, engraved on it, "Presented by General Rosser to Katie Maclean," which the General took possession of afterwards to return to its lawful owner. Also at the first of Big Bear's camps from Frenchman's Butte, we found a grave containing the body of Man-Who-Talks-Like-Another. He had been killed by a shell, and was said to be one of the murderers of Dill at Frog Lake. After a march of about twelve miles we met Major Steele on his return. The General halted for the day, and sent down to Fort Pitt to have pack-saddles made so that he might push on without his waggons, and the men were set to work to make travoies. A travoie is two long poles crossed and attached to the neck of the horse, the ends dragging on the ground, the load being bound on behind the horse. This is the Indian mode of transport over these roads. The General determined upon advancing without the infantry, and sent them back to Fort Pitt, taking with him only the artillery and the mounted men, with the gatling. And I might here say that our Canadian artillery proved themselves a most useful arm of the service, penetrating the most remote districts, and whether acting as infantry or gunners were always ready for work.

On the 6th of June we marched once more, leaving our tents and baggage behind. The Intelligence

Corps rendered the greatest services, by brushing the swampy spots in advance of the column, and making roads. On the night of the 7th we reached the scene of Major Steele's engagement, and camped in view of Loon Lake, a beautiful sheet of water surrounded by hills. Here we remained for the night, and the General sent on two half-breed scouts to ascertain what difficulties were ahead of us. They had to cross the ford which lay beneath our camp, and after going five miles the trail turned north to another crossing, where the water was too deep to allow them to ford. Big Bear evidently was cunning enough to put all possible obstacles in our way. However, the General pushed on, and next morning we crossed this ford, and by noon had reached the other crossing, where it was necessary to make a raft. It was an inspiriting sight to see the men swimming their horses across and rafting their saddlery and equipment over on a few logs tied together, and the General watched it with great interest. By nightfall he had all of his mounted men on the other side, leaving the artillery and transport behind.

On the following morning it was discovered that there lay a broad deep muskeg a short distance ahead, and before proceeding the General sent his half-breed scouts across. The General told me to send an officer and men with them. I sent Lieutenant Pigott and Sergeant Selby, and they were accompanied by Mr. Reid, the Assistant Indian Commissioner. They crossed the slough,

and went as far as Big Bear's next encampment, which was on the north shore of the lake. It took them half an hour to cross, only the strong horses being able to plunge through with their riders on their backs. Some of the party had to get off and wade a portion of the way; I ventured in for about two hundred yards, but was glad to turn back.

When the Indians went over three days before, the ice was not out of the bottom, leaving hard footing, but the heavy traffic, caused by their crossing, made the mud much deeper, and the Indians told Mr. Maclean that when the ice was all out of the bottom it was impassable even to them. However, the General determined to push on, and ordered my corps and Major Steele's to take three days' rations, and make a reconnaissance in advance, and to leave at six o'clock the following morning.

In the morning at five o'clock the General sent word that he had changed his mind, not caring to place such a deep, swamp barrier between his troops and his supplies. I afterwards found out, upon conversing with Mr. Maclean and with Big Bear after he was taken, that Big Bear and his tribe had started for Turtle Lake and had separated from the Wood Crees on the 7th of the month, so that by the time we crossed the slough he would have been closer to Colonel Otter's column, which arrived at Turtle Lake on the 14th, and on which date Colonel Otter's scouts picked up the trail of Big Bear still going east. The Gen-

eral was criticized for having allowed this muskeg to balk him, but he, unquestionably, saved his men and his horse-flesh from a most severe undertaking, and as it turned out, used good judgment.

At this encampment, near the slough, we found a dead squaw who had committed suicide by hanging herself. We were afterwards informed that she was a cripple, and had been left behind by the Indians (as they could not take a cart across the slough), who intended coming back for her with a horse; but feeling lonely and overcome with fear she put an end to herself.

We suffered here greatly from mosquitoes and flies, and were glad when the order was issued to retrace our steps. The men put out the nets, of which they found a number, and caught a good supply of fresh fish,—white fish and pickerel. We re-crossed the creek and the other ford on the 10th. At Loon Lake we found a number of rifle-pits dug, the Indians no doubt anticipating a further advance on the part of Major Steele, when he attacked them at the ford, five miles back. We returned to Fort Pitt on the 12th, having spent nine days in the bush. On arriving at Fort Pitt we found that Mrs. Gowanlock and Mrs. Delaney, with Pritchard and his party, had come in. They had managed to escape from the Indians, and were traced by the Rev. Mr. Mackay and some of Major Hatton's men, and brought back to Fort Pitt, to the relief of the poor ladies, who, for nearly two

months, had been dragged about from place to place by their captors.

On the 14th the General determined to march with the mounted men to Beaver River, to try and reach Lac des Isles and Cold Lake from that point, where he suspected the Indians had retreated with their prisoners. We passed the Midlanders, under the late Colonel Williams, who had been sent to support General Strange, and were encamped at Frog Lake, the scene of the massacre. There the Midlanders spent a week. On the 16th we reached Beaver River, where General Strange was encamped, having sent a hundred men on to Cold Lake, under Colonel Smith. This was the centre of the Chippawayan reserve.

Beaver River is a beautiful, deep-running stream, flowing east and north to lake "Isle a la Crosse," which empties into the Churchill River. The latter flows northeast into Hudson's Bay. At Beaver River the Chippawayans, who have their reserve there, surrendered themselves with Father Legoff, their faithful missionary, who had been taken prisoner on the 12th May; these Chippawayans left Big Bear before the battle with General Strange. They had for some time been endeavouring to get away, and were closely watched. On this occasion they purchased their release by a gift of forty head of cattle which they gave to Big Bear, and of which they raised a large number on their reserves. Father Legoff, like all the other missionaries in the North-West, rendered valuable

services during the rebellion; he remained with his tribe, and by his efforts and counsel, no doubt, lessened the dangers to which the settlements were exposed, and restrained the excitement of the Indians.

General Strange sent two scouts belonging to this Chippawayan tribe to endeavour to find some traces of Big Bear; and Captain Constantine, with a small escort, accompanied by Mr. Ham, the able correspondent of the Toronto *Mail*, undertook to go through the woods with a small party in the direction of Loon Lake, where they had a most fatiguing and tiring journey, finally reaching Fort Pitt. The Indian scouts returned and brought news that they had met an Indian, who told them that the Wood Crees had separated from Big Bear's band and had gone north with the prisoners. It was also said that their intention after getting well away from Big Bear was to allow the prisoners to return to Fort Pitt by the trail they had come upon, which was good news to all of us.

The previous day, General Middleton had gone on a fishing excursion to Cold Lake and to visit Colonel Smith's detachment camped there. The Rev. Canon Mackay, he found, had taken two Indians in a canoe to visit "Lac, des Isles," to endeavour to get some word from the Indians at that point. Upon the General's return, in the evening the Indian scouts had brought the information about the prisoners. On the following morning, General Middleton ordered us back to Fort Pitt, leaving General Strange to

collect his forces and to follow, sending word at the same time to the Indians who had released the prisoners to come in and surrender themselves at Fort Pitt. As he passed by Frog Lake, he instructed Colonel Williams to bring in his battalion also to Fort Pitt. On arriving at the latter post, the General sent Mr. Bedson off with teams to meet the returning prisoners at Loon Lake, which he reached at the same time as they did, to their great joy and relief. The Indians, it seems, had sent them off to make this journey of a hundred miles without provisions, and they had to rely upon what game they could catch to feed themselves. Mr. Maclean with his family, and Mr. Mann with his family, and about fifteen others, returned to Fort Pitt, thus completing the release of every prisoner that had been taken during the rebellion.

Colonel Otter had left Battleford with his column, a few of my men, under Corporal Marriott, accompanying him as scouts. At their head was Mr. Ross, one of the most daring and enterprising of scouts. They arrived at Turtle Lake on the 14th, just as Big Bear had passed by the north end; but his band had now become so small that by separating up they left no distinct trail behind them. The scouts captured a few of Big Bear's ponies, loaded with pack-saddles, but their drivers escaped. Colonel Otter pushed on east to Birch Lake, where he captured a band of Indians, under chief Yellow Sky, who had a large herd of cattle belonging to a settler and a

considerable stock of store goods, which they had obtained at Green Lake.

The account this band gave of themselves was that they had remained loyal, and that the cattle they held they had taken charge of lest they might be stolen by other bands; but hearing that the Indians were plundering and destroying, and fearing that there would be nothing left for their use and support, they had provided against that exigency by helping themselves at Green Lake. At this latter post property belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company had been pillaged and destroyed to the value of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, the history of which is contained in the interesting account given by Father Paquette, which I here insert.

Father Paquette's story:—"On the 18th of March I was staying at St. Laurent, four miles from here. About fifteen minutes before midnight, just as I was going to sleep, someone knocked at the door. It was Louis Riel. Two men were with him, Dumas and Moise Ouillette; Jackson, who I think was insane, was also at the mission at the time. When Riel got in, he began to say, in a loud voice: 'The provisoire is declared, and we have got five prisoners already, I have already destroyed the old *Romain*, and have a new Pope, Archbishop Bourget.' And to me he said: 'You are to obey me.' I said I would never obey him. 'If you will not,' he replied, 'the churches will stand, but they will stand empty.' Among other outrageous things, he said: 'You are in danger here; I have got an affidavit against you, and will get some Indians to fix you.' Riel staid there two hours, at one time kneeling and calling on the Holy Spirit, and then crying out, 'To-morrow morning I will go and

destroy the soldiers, and at night I will go and destroy Fort Carlton.' His eyes were like the devil's. He is not mad this Riel; he has a very good mind, but he is extremely wicked.

"Some hours after he left—before daylight, in fact—I left and escaped to Carlton to give the news that Riel had declared a new government, so as to prevent a surprise and massacre. The fort was full of half-breeds, so I said nothing except to the clerk, and told him to tell Major Crozier after I had left. In consequence of this action of mine, which was some way told to Riel, I was afterwards informed that I had been condemned to death by the council. Crossing the river and arriving at my mission, I found all quiet there. On the same night five half-breed families—including that of François Primeau—crossed the river from near Carlton and followed me to my mission, where I hid them from the 19th March till the 7th of April.

"Twice during that time, half-breeds came to my place from Riel to get government cattle. On the first occasion, March 31st, Joseph Delorme and Baptiste Ouillette came to my room with loaded guns, saying that they were sent by 'the government'—meaning the rebel government—for animals, and asking me if I thought the Indians would give them up. I said I did not know, but I would see the chief. 'If they give the animals,' one of the envoys said, 'I promise that we will leave the people quiet.' On the same day, seeing these two half-breeds coming in the distance, I had rung the church bell; it had been agreed that on hearing that signal at any time, the Indians would make off to the woods. They did so, but I knew where to find them, and leaving Delorme and Ouillette, I sought out the chief and told him, 'Riel says that if you don't give up your cattle, he will come with many men and fetch both oxen and Indians. To which he replied that he did not want to go to Riel, even if he died for it. I advised him to go to

the hills with all his best cattle, leaving only nine head. He did so, and I told the two half-breeds that the nine were all that were there now, so they took the nine and went away.

"The Indians then came back, but merely to get their property, and immediately went away again to the hills—three days' journey. Only my hired man stopped at the mission. On the 7th of April, early in the morning, an Indian from Battleford passed and told me that I had better run, as five other Indians on horseback were coming from Battleford, and two priests had been killed already. The half-breed families, with me, also thought it best to go; and I was the more afraid because some Battleford Indians had demanded provisions of me last summer and threatened to break into my store, saying that when they were numerous they would come and fix me. Taking the most precious articles with me, and locking all the doors, I set off for Shell River, where there is a half-breed settlement. On my explaining the situation to the half-breeds, they all turned against Riel, whom they had ignorantly imagined to be a great benefactor. Then, knowing that Riel intended to pillage the stores at Green Lake, and hearing that the Indians were disposed to take his side, I went there to persuade them all, as good Catholics, that they would be wrong to do so. At a meeting there, I found that all the people were in Riel's favour, thinking that he wanted to get the half-breeds their rights. They did not know that rebellion had actually been begun. I told them, 'You deceive yourselves; Riel wants to put down the Pope and the priests, and to make a new religion.' An old chief, or headman, of the half-breeds, called Vieux Payette, then spoke with great indignation, saying, 'If Riel is against religion, let us take our guns and fight him.' Then they ran to hide in the woods.

"Arriving at the Hudson's Bay Fort, I advised the clerk to load up in four boats with gunpowder and provi-

sions, and take them to Ile La Crosse, putting all lead ammunition into the lake. He did so, sending the boats to Beaver River, ten miles distant, and thereby keeping two hundred and forty-six kegs of powder from the Indians. In the morning, when one boat was following with the families, twenty-seven Indians from Loon Lake, appeared and caught us. When the people had got ashore, the Indians forced Mr. Sinclair, the clerk, to go back with them to the fort. There, as they were very hungry, they began by getting something to eat, after which they destroyed all the goods, including the property of both Protestant and Catholic missions. They wanted to take Mr. Sinclair prisoner, saying that they had Riel's order to catch him or kill him; but he managed to escape with two Carlton half-breeds, and made his way down the river in the boat. An Indian, named Makasis, aimed at him; but a chief, to whom Mr. Sinclair had just given his gloves, pulled the gun aside.

"The journey to the Ile La Crosse took four days. It was a terrible journey. It was extremely cold—snowing and raining—and we got very wet. We camped on the shore each night. On the third day, Mrs. Sinclair became a mother, and I was chosen godfather of the little child. The Indians, in honour of the event, fired off about three hundred shots. I had sent a letter to La Crosse saying that we were on the way, and the people of the fort, when they heard the shots, fancied that the Indians were killing us. The next day, when we got to the fort, we found only the clerk, Mr. Franklin, and one pig. The chief factor, Mr. Ross, the sisters, and all the half-breeds had gone off to an island about sixty miles north-west. Our boats had stopped where Beaver River enters the lake, as the lake ice had not yet broken up, so I had to walk nearly the whole of one day across the ice, accompanied by an Indian boy and a carpenter. I was very hungry when I got to the fort, and my clothing was very ragged. Mr. Franklin not only gave me plenty to eat but

gave me his own clothes, and these are his boots and pants I am wearing now. The other people waited until we sent back dogs and pulled the boats over the ice. The provisions were hidden in every direction through the woods.

"I told the clerk to get all the half-breeds together, so he sent off for them without delay, and the next afternoon, 30th April, they all assembled at the fort. About sixty-five or seventy, all men, were there; half-breeds and Indians, including Chippawayans and Wood Crees, some of whom had come a good day's journey, from Canoe Lake. I spoke first, and said that though they were poor, I knew that they were good and honest. A half-breed then declared that he had an order from Mr. Lawrence Clarke and Mr. Ross to take whatever he wanted in the store for his own use. Mr. Sinclair and Mr. Franklin, both said, it was not true, and I asked who had brought the letter. The man said, 'Angus Mackay.' Then I said, 'You lie, because I read the letter, and there was not a word about such a thing.' To that he made no reply. Then I spoke very strongly to them for nearly an hour. I said to them, 'Those who will not listen to me, I will excommunicate, because Riel is a heretic and an apostate.' And I told everyone who was for me to put up his hand. All put up their hands except one, who explained to me that he had only a stick and consequently could not fight. The one who had spoken was a very good Catholic, and held up his hand like the rest. From that time all were against Riel and all lived quietly.

"Two days after, three boats were sent to Green Lake, escorted by about fifty armed men. They travelled for two days and then met Indians, who told them that Big Bear was coming through the woods to burn Fort La Crosse. The boats turned back and brought the news that perhaps Big Bear would be at the fort that very night. On the people's advice I then went over to the

island, where the others were. The chief of the Chippawayans brought two hundred men, with three families, to protect us, and we took advantage of this to carry on a mission among them. After three weeks on the Island, we returned to the fort—where Franklin and Sinclair had remained—and about four hundred men, Indians and half-breeds, stayed there to protect the mission and the fort. Only when news came, about May the 27th, of Riel's capture, did they allow me to return to my mission. On arriving, after three days' travelling, at Green Lake, I found everything destroyed; even my harness had been cut to pieces with a knife."

Colonel Otter, through Lieutenant Seers, his Brigade-Major, and my scouts, opened up communication with Colonel Irvine, who was scouring the country in the neighbourhood of Pelican and Green Lakes. Big Bear, finding that he was pursued on all sides by troops, turned south between Colonel Otter and Colonel Irvine's men and crossed the Saskatchewan a little west of Fort Carlton. There he camped in the settlements in the neighbourhood, and reported himself to the Hudson's Bay officer at Fort Carlton, and eventually gave himself up to Sergeant Butlin, under Inspector Gagnon, of the Mounted Police.

The news of this was telegraphed at once to General Middleton, who was now enabled to announce to the Government, while Parliament was still in session, that the campaign was over, resulting in the complete occupation of the country and the surrender of all the insurgent tribes.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE RETURN OF THE TROOPS.

GENERAL MIDDLETON now made preparations to withdraw his troops, who, when the excitement of the campaign was over, were wearying to get back to their homes.

The Government during the session passed a Bill increasing the Mounted Police force to one thousand men, to take the place of the troops, and to add to the security of the country, which was considered a sufficient force to insure peace and afford protection to the settlements. The General sent the steamboats up to Edmonton, to bring in the detachments of the 65th and Winnipeg Light Infantry that had been left there. He also sent Colonel Herchmer to Battleford to escort those Indian prisoners who had been marked out especially as the leaders and murderers in the atrocities committed, to Regina, there to be handed over to the civil authorities, and await trial. Colonel Otter's column and Colonel Irvine's Mounted Police were also recalled to the base of operations. Captain Dennis's Intelligence Corps marched on the 30th June to Swift Current, there to disband; and on the 31st June I

received orders to march to Battleford by way of Turtle Lake.

On the 28th of July, Colonel Williams complained to me of not feeling well. His illness, I supposed, was an attack of chills and fever consequent on the rough life he was forced to lead, and camping on the shores of Frog Lake. But on my arrival at Battleford, five days after, I was horrified to hear that he was dead. The sickness from which he suffered attacked his brain, and combined with typhoid fever, he rapidly sank, becoming unconscious before he knew that his end was approaching. His sickness was no doubt the result of the excitement of the campaign, superadded to the hardships and the rough life to which he was unaccustomed. His death cast a gloom over all the troops, by whom he was much respected and beloved, and his death may be described as the saddest event of the campaign. Having gone successfully through the campaign with honour to himself and to the regiment he led, it was sad to find that on the eve of returning home to reap the reward of his bravery and patriotism, he was stricken down by the mysterious will of Providence. Colonel Williams' loss to the country is more than the loss of a gallant officer. While still a young man, he commanded his regiment, the 46th battalion of Port Hope, and had brought it to a high state of efficiency, but this was only a part of the many public and private duties he performed. For twenty years he represented

his district, and the town of Port Hope, first in the Local Assembly, and afterwards in the Dominion House of Commons, where he had worked his way up in the confidence and respect of Parliament, and was looked upon as one of the coming ministers of the country. His father, who had been a captain in the navy, and who had become a settler in the district in its early history, also represented the people in Parliament in his day. The latter died in 1854, while Colonel Williams was still a boy, leaving behind him a large estate of wild lands and farms in the district, which required great management and care to foster and husband, until by the growth of the country they became valuable. His administrative ability and his soldierly qualities, combined with a most gentlemanly bearing and kind manner, made him, for a young man of forty-five, one of the most prominent men in Canada. The whole country sustained a loss which it is difficult to replace. His family lost a faithful father, brother, and son. His regiment lost a commander whose equal they will not soon get again. For fourteen years, from 1868 to 1881, before coming to this province, I had the honour of being senior major of his battalion, and, among many others, I am able to bear testimony to the superior qualities Colonel Williams possessed. Very few men have been more identified with the history of his time than he. He was at the front during the Fenian

raid of 1866, as well as on the occasion of other Fenian marauding expeditions.

During the excitement of the Soudan campaign, Colonel Williams was among the first of the officers to volunteer their services to the English Government to raise a regiment for service in the field, and had not the present rebellion broken out his offer would likely have been accepted. As soon as the rebellion broke out he volunteered the services of his battalion, but the Government, to avoid drawing too many men from one rural district, allowed him to form a battalion composed of companies from several battalions in the midland district, and it was at the head of these men that he fought and died in the service of his country. During the four days' fighting at Batoche, Colonel Williams rendered unwearied service, for his mind was in his work, and his heart was in his country. During the charge and capture of Batoche he displayed the most conspicuous gallantry at the head of his men.

The highest eulogies were passed upon the gallant officer by the Honourable Mr. Caron, Minister of Militia and the Honourable Mr. Blake, the leader of the Opposition, both vying with one another in endeavouring to express the feelings of the people, of both shades of politics, in their sorrow for the death of the departed hero. His life was not unmixed with sorrow. About three years previous to his death he lost his amiable wife,

who was the daughter of the Hon. Mr. Seymour, and he now leaves a young family to the care of his widowed mother, who is still alive, to mourn his loss and watch over his children.

Colonel Williams represented what might be termed Young Canada, that is, he represented those who were born and bred in the country, who draw their inspirations from the institutions and associations of the life by which they have been surrounded from their birth, and whose feelings and ambitions are moulding the destinies of Canada, tempered by a respect and affection for the institutions and history of their fathers in the glorious land from which they came. I here take leave of Colonel Williams, who was one of the warmest personal friends I have known. To know him was a privilege, which, by his kind and genial nature, many another man throughout the country can proudly claim. A military funeral was held in Battleford, and a solemn service was performed over the body of Colonel Williams in the fort, whence his body was transported in charge of a guard, under Captain Lestock Reid, to Port Hope. There he received an imposing burial, and representatives of the whole country vied with one another in doing honour to his memory. At this time two more deaths occurred. A sergeant of the 65th, after a short sickness, died on the steamboat, on its way from Fort Pitt to Battleford, and the day before we left there, the sentry belonging to "A"

Battery, was marching one of the Indian prisoners to the rear, and his rear rank man stumbled, going through a gate, his rifle went off by accident and shot his front rank man dead. He was a favourite, and his loss was much mourned by his comrades.

The closing days of the campaign were now rapidly approaching. The General made arrangements to transport the three columns, with the exception of the mounted men, by steamers down the River Saskatchewan to the Grand Rapids, where they had to make a short portage by tramway to reach Lake Winnipeg. This was accomplished without mishap, and they arrived in safety on the 15th July in Winnipeg. The regular corps of the Canadian service were left behind to guard the country until the Mounted Police had been recruited to its full strength. Colonel Otter, with "C" School and "B" Battery, remained in command at Battleford; Colonel Montizambert, with "A" Battery, remained in command at Prince Albert, and the Winnipeg Light Infantry remained at Fort Pitt under the command of Colonel Smith, to receive the surrender of some tribes of Indians who had not yet come in. The interest in the campaign was now to be transferred to the trials of Riel and his accomplices.

On the eve of departure from Pitt, General Middleton had the following words of praise for his troops inserted in the General Orders of the day :—

"In thus completing the breaking up of the North-West Field Force, which has been under the immediate

command of Major-General Middleton during the late campaign, he cannot let the officers and men comprising it separate without expressing his great satisfaction with them. During the whole of the time he has not had to assemble a court martial, and in fact there has been an absence of crime. They have had vast hardships to undergo and real difficulties to overcome, and have met them like men, with ready cheerfulness and without complaint. They, as untried volunteer soldiers, have had to move in a country where an extraordinary scare existed, and against an enemy whom it was publicly declared they would be unable to cope with, unless with great superiority of numbers. The first they disregarded, as shown by the fact that during the whole three months not more than two or three false alarms in camp took place; and the second they disproved by beating their enemy with a force inferior to him in numbers. Each regiment, each corps, each arm of the service, has vied one against the other, and each has equally well done the duty assigned it; not forgetting the transport service, which, under its two able officers, has so well aided us in our movements; the medical department, which has been so well directed; and the chaplains who have so cheerfully and well ministered to our spiritual comforts. And the Major-General in taking farewell of his old comrades begs to wish them all happiness and success in their several walks of life, and to sincerely thank them one and all for having, by their gallantry, good conduct, and hard work, enabled him to carry to a successful conclusion what will probably be his last campaign."

I marched with my men by road from Fort Pitt to Turtle Lake, thence to Battleford, one hundred and twenty-five miles, thence to Clarke's Crossing, one hundred miles; from there to Qu'Appelle, two hundred miles; from there to Birtle, one hundred and thirty-five miles;

and from Birtle home to Russell, thirty-two miles, taking twenty-two days, where we disbanded, after a most memorable and arduous campaign. From the day we left Russell until we returned, three months and eighteen days had elapsed, during which time we marched seventeen hundred miles by actual measurement, in addition to one hundred and twenty miles by rail and one hundred and seventy-five by boat. Some of the horses and men had done more. We had been on duty constantly every day, without intermission, and had the honour of accompanying the General throughout. My casualties amounted to one officer and one man killed, eight wounded, and four otherwise injured. I had killed and used up sixteen horses. I took six transport teams, which I brought from my own district, who accompanied me throughout. I had no sickness, the food being wholesome and plentiful, and the exercise healthy. Keeping the horses' backs sound was the most difficult task. My saddles were not alike. Being purchased at a moment's notice in Winnipeg, I had to take what I could get. I found what is known as Davis' three-guinea English saddle the best. Combined with economy, they are light, comfortable to ride in, and do not give sore backs. I used one throughout, and neither horse nor rider was a day on the sick list in a seventeen hundred mile march. Several of my men had these saddles and realized their comfort.

We used the Winchester rifles with solid bullets. They are a light and handy weapon, but are apt to get out of order at the critical moment, and the bullets flatten at the top in the magazine. Of course, excessive rapidity of firing is not conducive to steady aim or to economy of ammunition. I would suggest as an improvement, that the magazine be so arranged that it could be kept as a reserve, and capable of being disconnected from the breech-action, so that the rifle could be used as an ordinary breech-loader or a repeater at will. Mounted infantry should be armed with a sword or sword-bayonet; with it you have an advantage over your enemy; without it you are only on a par—man for man. The enemy we had to contend with were cooler and better shots at short range, more accustomed to take advantage of cover, and possessing a more perfect knowledge of the country. This is not to be wondered at, for by trapping and hunting most of them live. But they will not stand to face a determined charge, especially if they are opposed to the bayonet.

The horses we used were of all classes, picked up in a hurry. I selected them especially for their hardihood. I found the native ponies, about fourteen hands and upwards, the most serviceable, but they must have weight. My horses averaged one hundred and sixty-five dollars apiece, purchased at war prices, and on our return I handed them over to the Government auctioneer, when they fetched at public auction an average of seventy-five dol-

lars. The men were supplied with a serviceable coat made of brown duck, a pair of riding-breeches, a helmet, a flannel shirt, moccasins and stockings. Most of the men used riding-boots, keeping their moccasins for comfort. They used up their clothes very fast on the campaign. The white helmets were criticized as being too conspicuous, but I am convinced that in the kind of fighting we had to face it is well to be able to distinguish friend from foe. On the one hand you lose an advantage if you cannot distinguish your comrades, and withhold your fire on that account; on the other it is a most unpleasant thing to be taken for the enemy by your friends, when creeping up through the bush. My men were obedient and plucky, and thoroughly entered into the spirit of the campaign. They were composed of the very best class to do good service, having by their push and enterprise penetrated the interior of this country, three hundred miles beyond Winnipeg, where they were employed as settlers, farming on their homesteads. They sacrificed their summer's crop to uphold the laws of their adopted country—some even selling their stock for what it would bring that they might not be compelled to stay at home. I cannot praise too highly their bravery, their gallantry, and their powers of endurance, combined with great good humour, which made the four months I had the honour of commanding them pass like a pleasure trip. After the fatigue of

marching all day and attending to their horses, the guard duties and patrol at night had to be done, all of which was faithfully performed without a murmur. The reminiscences of adventure they went through, and the battles they fought, will be handed down for many years to come as memorable events in the history of the district, when by the progress of railway communication such long marches will become a thing of the past.

A monument is to be raised to the memory of their comrades who were left behind in their lonely resting-place, and the various settlements to which we returned rallied with loyal and welcome addresses to honour the friends who had gone to protect the country from the rebellious half-breeds and Indians. They were themselves surrounded by Indian tribes, and they felt that had not General Middleton been successful in overthrowing Riel, their families and their homes might be endangered before the summer was over. In order to preserve a memento of their welcome, I have inserted in the appendix the addresses with which my two troops were greeted. I was gratified also, on returning to my home, to find awaiting me a memento from kind friends in Lakefield, where I had spent a portion of my life, and where for some years I had acted as Reeve. It was a letter congratulating me upon the services of my corps, accompanied by a Winchester rifle and a brace of revolvers which will be gratefully preserved by me as a token, of

the kind feelings that animated my absent friends, who, in common with the whole country, watched the progress of the campaign with anxiety for and pride in the conduct of their fellow-countrymen.

The return of the regiments to the east, to their respective headquarters, was the signal for an enthusiastic outburst of jubilation over the safe return of those who had been fortunate enough to escape from the rebel bullets, and in every city, town and village, from the east to the far west, the warmest of welcomes was accorded to Canada's citizen soldiery. In Toronto, and other cities and towns, will long be remembered the unanimous and enthusiastic ovation paid by the citizens of Canada to the returned troops. In their sympathy and affection for their brothers and sons, during the progress of the campaign, the people had industriously made clothing and collected comforts to be sent to the troops while at the front, whence they were transported at the expense of the Government; and it is hard to say whether the comforts or the sympathy which caused these generous gifts to be sent were most appreciated by the men.

The campaign just closed will ever be a memorable one in the annals of Canada. From the country's earliest days, scarcely a generation has passed without some internal or external disturbance taking place affecting its welfare. At all times the people have displayed a loyalty to their country, and a self-sacrificing spirit in the pro-

tection of their hearths and homes. But on these occasions Canada had at its back the veteran battalions of England, who were stationed in the country, and who were always available to assist in meeting its needs. On the present occasion the case was different. England had handed over to Canada the responsibility of governing this vast tract of country. It is being developed to contribute to the revenue and to add to the strength and prestige of the Canadian people, and therefore the burden must fall upon them in maintaining intact their laws and their territory. It was in that spirit that the Government undertook the task; and for the first time, though unaided by experienced councillors in the art of war, unaccustomed to have such pressing calls upon the supplies and transport, and the necessaries for a sudden emergency, the militia of the country proved itself fully equal to the occasion. When it is realized that the outbreak which had occurred was two thousand five hundred miles distant from the seat of Government at Ottawa, that that distance had to be covered by railway journeys and long marches, accompanied by all the necessaries for campaigning, the capabilities of the military system is manifest. Ten regiments of infantry, four batteries of artillery, with eight troops of cavalry, were, within a fortnight from the first intimation of the outbreak, transported to the scene of operations, assisted by fifteen hundred transport teams. Within a month from the news of the

fight at Duck Lake, General Middleton's force had fought its first battle in the rebel stronghold, resulting in the dispersion of the force opposed to it, and Colonel Otter had inflicted a blow upon the Indian tribes, who had barely commenced their summer's deviltry. General Strange, with his column, had meanwhile vigorously penetrated the north-western district, through the melting snows and amidst great hardships, in the anxiety to reach the scene of the Frog Lake massacre and afford the necessary protection to the people of the region. The second battle at Batoche, resulting in the utter defeat of Riel, showed the people in the disaffected districts how little chance they have of withstanding the power of the country, for before two months had elapsed every insurgent tribe was attacked and dispersed. The most remote districts had been penetrated by the soldiers and guns, which clearly showed the Indians that they must in future become obedient to the government and laws of the country. Within four months from the date of the first disturbance, five thousand troops had been transported to the seat of trouble, had returned, and were disbanded, the ring-leader was captured, and with his accomplices had been tried and sentenced, and the country restored to its former peaceful industry. Canadians may well feel a proud satisfaction that throughout this eventful campaign no man, from the drummer boy up, failed to do his duty. At the commencement of the out-

break the Militia Department was not prepared with a transport or commissariat service, but General Middleton at Fort Qu'Appelle organized a transport corps under the able management of Mr. Bedson, Warden of the Manitoba Penitentiary, who was appointed chief transport officer, with Mr. Secretan, C.E., assistant. They remained with the headquarter staff. Major Bell took charge of the transport at Fort Qu'Appelle, Major White filling the same position at Moosejaw and Swift Current. Captain Hamilton, of the N. W. Mounted Police, performed the same service for General Strange's column at Edmonton, and Mr. Underwood acted as supply officer with General Middleton.

The transport service was admirably performed with these energetic officers at his head. The various routes traversed, in forwarding supplies to the front, were divided off into twenty mile stages, and an assistant transport officer was placed in charge of each station. The teams were not allowed to be overdriven or overloaded, because the practical men who had charge of this department knew that if the horses, of which there was only a limited number available, and collected at the base at considerable expense, were overworked they would soon lose them. As a consequence of this good management the same horses were able to continue in the transport service as long as they were required. Comparing the transport service with that of other campaigns

there is no doubt it will be found to have been economically managed and always efficient.

In place of an official commissariat department, there was to hand in the North-West the most perfect organization for this purpose, namely, the Hudson's Bay Company, whose officers and posts scattered throughout the country proved most serviceable auxiliaries in the conduct of the campaign. The Government wisely availed themselves very largely of this organization to forward and supply the troops. Although a large profit has accrued to the Company through the services thus performed, yet their excellent organization, energy and ability, have more than recouped the country for the profit they made. The brunt of the work at the commencement fell upon Colonel Peebles, who was stationed in Winnipeg, and who had the responsibilty of equipping and supplying the troops at the outset, and an overwhelming amount of work pressed upon him for a short time, as the Hudson's Bay Company would supply nothing without his sanction. As soon as the Government was somewhat relieved from the pressure of despatching the troops, a commissariat staff was formed, composed of Colonel Jackson, Deputy Adjutant-General of London, Colonel Whitehead, of the Victoria Rifles, Montreal, and Major Guy, formerly District Paymaster of Nova Scotia, as the controlling staff of the supply and pay department, assisted by Captain Allen, who has been lately appointed

to the Mounted Police. Captain Swinford, the chief supply officer, was stationed at Qu'Appelle, where he had a great pressure of work—work that he broke down under—to meet the requirements of the troops. Captain Swinford is the brother of Lieutenant Swinford, of the 90th, who was killed at Fish Creek, and son of Captain Swinford, in the employment of the Hudson's Bay Company. When Mr. Swinford, senior, heard of the death of his son in the 90th, he at once allowed his only remaining son to go up and take his place. Colonel D. Jackson, with his staff, arrived in Winnipeg about the 3rd of April, and he made that city his headquarters, and before the campaign was over an efficient commissariat existed. After the campaign had closed a commission was appointed, consisting of Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson, Colonel Forrest, and Colonel Whitehead, to wind up the unpaid accounts of the campaign, and to audit those that had been paid. A commission was also appointed to investigate the losses by settlers, and greater promptitude has rarely been shown by any government as in the payment of the troops when they left the field, and in the compensation to settlers for the destruction of their property by the Indians. In Winnipeg, Lieutenant-Colonel La Montague, and Lieutenant-Colonel McDonald, of the Militia Department, Ottawa, acted as Brigade Majors.

At the front, Lieutenant-Colonel Forrest was appointed Quartermaster of the forces, with his headquarters at

Qu'Appelle; Captain Hudson, formerly of the 100th Regiment, was supply officer at Clarke's Crossing; Captain Wright, 43rd Battalion, was stationed with General Strange's column; Captain Heigham was stationed at Touchwood Hills with Colonel Turnbull's Cavalry School Corps; Lieutenant Bate, of the 1st Battalion, Governor-General's Foot Guards, and Mr. Woolsey of Ottawa, served at Swift Current and Regina. Major McGibbon served at Calgary, and Captain Morton, late of the Prince of Wales' Own Rifles, acted as orderly officer and secretary to the staff in Winnipeg. Major Vaughan acted as superintendent of stores, purchased and issued in Winnipeg. Major-General Laurie, in charge of the base and lines of communication, had Lieutenant Dickson, R.M.C., Lieutenant Weller and Lieutenant Leonard acting on his staff, Mr. Ricards acting as supply officer, Mr. White as transport officer. General Laurie's headquarters at first were at Swift Current, but were afterwards removed to Moosejaw.

The examples we have of the cost of other campaigns undertaken by England, and of similar Indian wars in the United States, bring out in the most marked manner the economy with which the present campaign was managed. This may be attributed to the earnest loyalty that characterized every officer and man, who, one and all, exhibited an anxiety to do their duty faithfully and well.

The Government authorized the appointment of a clergyman to every corps, and various churches sent

their pastors to the regiments. The Rev. Mr. Whitcombe, of Toronto, was appointed to the 10th Royal Grenadiers; the Rev. Mr. Gordon, of Knox Church Winnipeg, was appointed to the 90th Battalion; the Rev. Mr. Quinney, missionary at Frog Lake, after his imprisonment, was appointed to the Midland Battalion; the Rev. Mr. Pitblado, Presbyterian, was appointed to the Halifax Battalion; the Rev. Mr. Rowand, to the 91st Battalion; the Rev. W. A. Mackenzie, the Rev. John McDougall, and Canon McKay, to the Alberta Field Force; the Rev. Mr. Ball, to the 7th Fusiliers; and the Rev. T. Bartley, to the Montreal Garrison Artillery.

The arrangements of the medical staff were excellent. This branch of the service was under the command of Dr. Bergen, Surgeon-General at Ottawa, assisted by Dr. Roddick and a large staff at the front, whose names will be found in the appendix. A staff of dressers from the medical colleges was also sent forward, and appointed to assist the regimental surgeons. An hospital was established at Saskatoon, where the wounded from Fish Creek and Batoche were conveyed, and a staff of nurses appointed, under the direction of Nurse Miller, of the Winnipeg General Hospital. The hospital at Battleford established and appointed in the same manner for Colonel Otter's column. Afterwards a general hospital was established at Moosejaw, where medical supplies were accumulated under the superintendence of the Hon. Dr.

Sullivan, Purveyor-General. In connection with our own hospital, the kindly heart of the Princess Louise, the daughter of royal parents, whose virtues, one may say, are without example, was moved to solicit subscriptions to supplement the efforts of the Government. Her Royal Highness sent Dr. Boyd out with a thousand pounds, to expend in the most beneficial manner for the comfort of the wounded. On this occasion the sympathy of the Princess Louise towards her old Canadian friends warmed all hearts intensely towards her and towards the throne, and did much to heighten the respect and to increase the affection of all classes in the country for the Crown.

The press of Canada shewed the greatest enterprise in sending correspondents to the front, in order that the public might have the earliest and most accurate information concerning the daily events of the campaign. They were almost entirely confined to the Canadian newspapers, Mr. Johnston of the St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, and Mr. Henty of the London *Standard*, being the only representatives of newspapers outside of Canada. They supplied the news to their papers with the most commendable enterprise, the accounts of the various actions varying slightly, according to the sympathy of the correspondents for the battalion of its locality. Comparing the various accounts of the campaign with one another, it is however to be said that the public got a very accurate description of the important events. The Montreal *Star*

and *Witness*, the Toronto *Mail* and *Globe*, the Winnipeg *Free Press*, *Sun*, and *Times*, and the *Illustrated War News*, Toronto, all had special correspondents moving with the troops, who were authorized to spare no expense to get the most reliable information and transmit it speedily to their several papers, and nearly every paper in the Dominion had correspondents in the ranks of the volunteers. I think, as a military correspondent, Mr. McManus, an old cavalry man, living at Qu'Appelle, who acted as correspondent for the Toronto *Mail* at that important point, carried off the palm.

Before concluding I would draw the attention of my readers to one remarkable feature in the campaign, viz. this: that while in 1870 it was necessary to send a small armed force from the east under Sir Garnet Wolseley to maintain law and order, the growth of the country has been so great that in this campaign it was enabled to place in the field three efficient regiments, one battery of artillery, besides eight corps of mounted men. From this fact it may be deduced that the day is not far distant when this country will not only be of immense strength to Canada, but will be enabled to furnish large drafts of men for service in the British Empire, who for physique, activity and endurance, cannot be excelled.

The country, with the time-honoured liberality of British subjects, conferred upon General Middleton, who conducted the campaign to success, the handsome gratuity

of twenty thousand dollars, a gratuity most worthily bestowed, and to each Canadian soldier it gave a grant of three hundred and twenty acres of land without charge, or failing their desire to become settlers, scrip, which will be accepted by the Dominion Government as payment for land to the value of eighty dollars. Her Majesty conferred the honour of Knighthood upon the Minister of Militia, Sir Adolphe Caron, and upon Major-General Sir Fred. Middleton. To the troops a medal is to be issued with a clasp entitled "Batoche" for those who were at the capture of Batoche, and a clasp with the legend "Saskatchewan" for those who served on the two Saskatchewans.

In concluding this portion of my narrative I may be permitted to say that my effort has been to give information to my readers as accurately as I possibly could. The work has been mainly written on my homestead, where I have not had access to documents which would have helped me, and it may be faulty in some respects. But I have endeavoured when in doubt about any point, to leave reference to it out, in order that the important events of the campaign, as related, may be an accurate and reliable description.

The main purposes I had in writing my book were, first, to bring out the creditable manner in which Canada has dealt with the most important event in her history; secondly, to show the rapid development that has taken

place in the country; and thirdly, to indicate the magnificent spirit that stirs the hearts of the Canadian subjects of Her Majesty, in their loyalty to the Crown and to the country they hold dear. I trust that I have, in some measure, attained these objects.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE EXECUTIONS.

I NOW come to the last event of the campaign that will possess interest in the future, in connection with the early settlement of the North-West Territory—the imprisonment, trial, and execution of Riel for the crime of high treason. He was taken to the gaol in Regina, closely guarded, in charge of Captain Young, of the Winnipeg Field Battery, and handed over to the care of the Mounted Police. A discussion arose as to the mode of trial and the locality in which he should be tried. According to the laws of the country it was found necessary to try him in the North-West Territory, the scene of his crimes. His career and fate teach lessons which it is worth while for a moment to dwell on. The constitution under which British subjects are governed is of the most liberal character, and affords a legitimate vent for the expression of opinions and the redress of grievances that no other constitution so liberally provides. In 1869, the French half-breeds can fairly claim they had a legitimate right to know what terms were going to be accorded to them in the transfer of the country to Canada,

and up to the point of forbidding the entrance of the Hon. Mr. Macdougall into the country, until some guarantee had been provided for the protection of their interests, the agitation that was commenced may be called legitimate. But the moment they took up arms, threatened the peace of the country, and prevented by bodily fear a free expression of the wants of the people in their negotiations with the Canadian Governor or Commissioners, it became rebellion, and any loss of life or property in consequence of this, the rebellious become responsible for.

Riel, however, realizing that the people had a grievance, took advantage of the circumstance to arouse their fears and hostilities, to obtain their support and enable him to usurp authority, not scrupling to take life, that he might occupy the position of autocrat of the country. After the arrival of the Canadian Commissioners, with power to treat with the people, Riel was criminal in every act that he committed. He was going beyond the constitutional privileges which are the great safeguard and protection of the people. In retaining prisoners and keeping them confined in unwholesome prisons, he was cruel, vindictive, and tyrannical. In taking the life of Scott, for no other reason than to make his power felt as dictator and autocrat of the country, he was a murderer. That crime was done at his bidding and for the purpose of advancing his personal ends. The circumstances of the country at the time were such that

the Government could not bring him to justice for his crime. The amnesty having once been promised by Archbishop Taché put a different phase upon the circumstances, and Riel escaped the consequences of his act with the moderate punishment of banishment for five years to the United States—a country where he had for some time previously resided and where he was quite satisfied to make his home.

The years go by, and the half-breeds recollect the excitement and the profit they derived from the rebellion of 1869-70, and remember that the benefits of scrip which had been accorded to them at that time were withheld, or rather that the principle of issuing scrip had not yet been extended to the North-West Territory. More than that, the half-breeds who had left the Province of Manitoba, and who had there secured the patents for their lands, and obtained the scrip for themselves and families, now thought that they could claim the same privileges over again as residents of the North-West Territory. In order to obtain the pecuniary advantage of the scrip which the Government issued, they sent for Riel as having the ability to make this demand in such a forcible way that they might have some hope of obtaining it. The secret of the rebellion lies in the fact that the majority of the half-breeds were petitioning for something they were not entitled to, and were not likely to get by constitutional means, but which might be obtained

by extreme measures of violence if successful. Riel also formulated a scheme which raised the hopes and ambitions of the half-breeds and Indians. The half-breed reserve in the Province of Manitoba was allotted on the proportion of one-seventh of the lands contained in the Province at that time created, which, upon computation, was found to be 1,400,000 acres, or 240 acres of land to each resident half-breed then born. Riel at once made the bold claim that the principle of one-seventh of the land which had been accorded in the Province of Manitoba should be carried out in the North-West Territory, and and held out hopes to the Indians that one-seventh of the land should be theirs also. It was those ambitious ideas that enabled him to exercise a control over the half-breeds and Indians, in leading them to break out into open and murderous rebellion, while Riel hoped to make a big stake for himself in consequence, as he supposed, of the weakness of the Government.

In proceeding against Riel for leading the new rebellion, the Government placed the case for the Crown in the hands of Mr. Christopher Robinson, son of the late Sir John Beverley Robinson, in his lifetime Chief Justice of Upper Canada, and Mr. B. B. Osler, assisted by Mr. Burbidge, Deputy Minister of Justice, Mr. Casgrain, of Quebec, and Mr. Scott, of Regina. Riel's friends in Quebec raised a fund for his defence, and Mr. Fitzpatrick and Mr. Lemieux, of Quebec, were employed to defend

him. The presiding judge was Colonel Richardson, Stipendiary Magistrate for the district. The charges were formulated and proven. The trial was fair and open, every opportunity being given to the prisoner's counsel to defend him. The proofs of his criminality were so overwhelming that his counsel did not attempt to refute them, but relied entirely upon the plea that insanity, which it was sought to prove, existed in their client's case. Riel, being endowed with a vain, egotistical disposition, and feeling that his counsel were not adopting the best methods for obtaining his acquittal, took the ground, as he cleverly expressed it at the trial, that "the Government was trying to prove him guilty, and that his friends were trying to prove him insane." "Life, without the dignity of an intelligent being," as he phrased it, "was not worth having." He attempted to defend himself upon the plea that he was right in what he did, and this interference almost led his counsel to abandon his case. He made a most eloquent and pathetic appeal to the jury, lasting several hours, and when the jury retired and appeared again in court, they returned a verdict of "Guilty." In consequence of his pathetic appeal, the verdict was accompanied with a recommendation to mercy. The sentence of death was pronounced upon him by Colonel Richardson, and he was condemned to be executed on the 18th of September.

After sentence had been passed on Riel, Mr. Fitzpatrick, one of the prisoner's counsel, gave notice of appeal for a new trial to the Court of Queen's Bench of Manitoba, upon the question of the jurisdiction of the Court. The trial and sentence was upheld by the Court of Queen's Bench at the sitting of the full Court in Winnipeg, on the 9th of September. Chief Justice Wallbridge, in delivering judgment, referred to the facts brought before the Court, to the Statutes by which the stipendiary magistrates are appointed in the North-West, to the powers given them for the trial of cases before them, and to the cases, including treason, which have to be tried before a magistrate with a Justice of the Peace and a Jury of six. His Lordship held that the constitutionality of the Court was established by the Statutes passed, which he cited. If the Act passed by the Dominion Parliament was *ultra vires*, as claimed by the defence, it was clearly confirmed by the Imperial Act, subsequently passed, which made the Dominion Act equal to an Imperial Act. The objections were to his mind purely technical, and therefore not valid. His opinion was that a new trial should be refused, and the conviction of the Superior Court be confirmed. After judgment had been delivered by the Court of Queen's Bench, Riel's counsel notified the Executive that they would appeal to the Privy Counsel in England. In order to give the prisoner's counsel an opportunity to test fully the legality of the proceedings,

a respite was granted until the 10th of November. The appeal was heard before the Privy Council in England and was dismissed, and the sentence of the Court was confirmed.

No doubt, to give Riel due notice that the sentence of the Court would be carried into execution, a further respite was granted from the 10th November until the 16th, and on the 16th November his execution took place. Father André, his spiritual adviser, spent much time with him to prepare him for his end, and Riel was allowed the privilege of having writing materials, that he might employ his time while in prison to write a book, giving the history of his life. Latterly, Riel began to realize that it would have been wiser if he had yielded to the legal advice of his friends, and accepted the position they adopted to get him off upon the plea of insanity. For some time previous to his execution he therefore attempted to give evidence by his acts that he was not sane; but it was too late now to avail himself of this, for the evidence of experts, who watched him carefully throughout his trial and afterwards, showed that he was perfectly cognizant of, and responsible for, the crimes he had committed. Riel played for a big stake, in the hope that he would get a large pecuniary benefit out of the agitation and that the Government would accede to his demands rather than go to the labour and expense of upholding the laws of the country, in so remote a portion of it. In

this he was mistaken, for the Government were bound to show the people, as well as the Indians and half-breeds, that they were able and determined to uphold the laws of the country, and to protect the people throughout the North-West, and that neither expense nor distance was too great to prevent the dignity and power of the country being expressed.

On the morning of the 16th November, the time came when Riel had to undergo the same ordeal he had put Scott through fifteen years previously, and the similarity of proceedings in both cases is a coincidence. Riel for some time had had the benefit of the constant attendance of Père André, his spiritual adviser, who was with him during the whole of his last night on earth. About eight o'clock in the morning, the deputy sheriff, Mr. Gibson, went to his cell and told Riel that his time had come. Riel at the moment turned pale, realizing his position, but braced himself up and a procession was formed. Father McWilliams, who was also in attendance on Riel, went first, Riel next, and Father André followed, the deputy sheriff leading the way. After them came the orderly officer of the Mounted Police, Captain White-Fraser, with ten men who had been on guard all night. They were followed by Colonel Irvine, four or five officers of the Mounted Police, Dr. Jukes, as medical officer, and four correspondents. They all marched up some steps to the room above the guard-room, and through this barrack-

room to a small building which had been erected to contain the gallows. As they passed through the barrack-room, Riel exclaimed, "Courage, mon Père!" The gallows was entered by a window, temporarily used as a door, where the hangman awaited them.

Before stepping through the window the priests knelt down with the prisoner. The remainder, with the exception of the guards, removed their hats, and Father André prayed, Riel making the responses in a firm voice and praying also. His demeanour betokened suppressed excitement; his brow was covered with drops of sweat. Contrary to popular expectation, Riel met his death like a man, all the while holding a candle in one hand and a crucifix, which had been lent to him by Madame Forget, in the other. After praying for some time, at twenty-five minutes past eight o'clock, the deputy sheriff touched Father McWilliams on the shoulder and told him the time was up. Père André saw this, and notified Riel that they must cease. They then all rose up and Père André, after explaining to Riel that the end was at hand, asked him if he was at peace with all men. Riel answered "Yes." The next question was, "Do you forgive all your enemies?" "Yes." Riel then asked him if he might speak. Father André advised him not to do so. He then received the kiss of peace from both the priests, and Father André exclaimed in French, "*Alors, allez au ciel!*"

While this conversation was taking place, the hangman was engaged in pinioning the prisoner's arms. The procession then went through the window, preceded by the hangman, who happened to be one of the men whom Riel had held in prison in 1869. Dr. Jukes and Colonel Irvine went on to the platform with Father McWilliams and Père André and two correspondents. The prisoner got on to the drop, his legs were pinioned and the rope adjusted. His last words were to say good-bye to Dr. Jukes and thank him for his kindness, and just before the white cap was pulled over his face he said, "Remerciez, Madame Forget." The cap was pulled down, and while he was praying the trap was pulled. Death was instantaneous. His pulse ceased beating four minutes after the trap-door fell. The body was to have been interred inside the gallows' enclosure, and the grave was commenced, but an order came from the Lieutenant-Governor to hand the body over to Sheriff Chapleau, which was accordingly done that night. Previously, however, to handing it over, Colonel Irvine, in presence of Dr. Jukes, Colonel McLeod and others, had the coffin opened to inspect the body, in consequence of reports which had spread, and which had even got into the papers, that Riel's body had been mutilated. The mutilations consisted in Father McWilliams having cut off a lock of his hair and beard, and in taking off his left moccasin. The other moccasin and other locks of his hair

had been distributed among some of his friends. Next day he was interred beneath the Roman Catholic Church in Regina. Subsequently his body was removed to his mother's house, near Winnipeg, and there in presence of a large number of people was interred at St. Boniface.

Thus ended the life of a man who, in order to carry out his plans, did not regard the lives of his fellow-creatures. His death is a warning to those who refuse to employ the constitutional means which, happily, in a free country like ours, are available for the redress of any grievances they may feel themselves labouring under. It also shows that in the present day men cannot with impunity tyrannize over their fellow-countrymen and jeopardize the lives of peaceful citizens to gratify their own ambition.

The execution of Riel was the signal for an outburst of political excitement in the Province of Quebec; and the extraordinary argument was advanced that because his crime was a political one, the extreme penalty of the law should not have been carried out by the Government. In other words, that because there was a large number of voters who demanded that he should not be hanged, therefore he should not have been hanged, and reasons, more or less fatuous, were advanced to support this assumption. The question was a most momentous one. One of the vital principles affecting the country was at stake, on account of the two distinct nationalities

from which Canadians are descended. Was the Government going to yield to political exigencies and interfere with the course of the law, or, practically, was there to be one law for one class and one law for another? The feelings of the people were strained over the whole country; but the Government upheld the constitution, and not seeing any reason for recommending the clemency of the Crown, allowed the law to take its course. Riel had twice headed an armed rebellion against the laws of the country. In the first he had murdered Scott, and on the second occasion he had attempted to raise the Indian population to support him, the natural result of which, from past experiences elsewhere, would be a general massacre of innocent, peaceable citizens. That this massacre was not universal in the country is owing to the friendly relations which exist between the whites and the Indians, and to the liberal manner in which they are treated by Government. It speaks volumes for the country that in the midst of all the excitement over that extended, isolated region, only in one instance was there a massacre by the Indians. In addition to the Frog Lake massacre, and some isolated murders committed by the Indians, a large number of valuable lives of peaceable citizens were sacrificed, for which Riel alone was personally responsible. He was the guide and man of influence to whom his people and the Indians looked. Having due regard to the protection of the people who inhabit the

North-West Territory, the Government would not have been justified in interfering with the sentence of the court. The hanging of Riel, which has created so much excitement, will do good from a political point of view for it will lead to a better understanding among those who are descended from the two distinct nationalities who form the population of Canada. It will lead the sensible people in all parts of the country to realize that their influence must be used for the good of the whole of the Canadian people, and that sectional sympathies must not be allowed to prevail, although toleration and respect for class prejudices and feelings should still be the guiding principle in the country.

The French population, who are the original Canadians, and who laid the foundation of the country, love their language and their religion. This being recognized they were protected by treaty when the country was handed over to British rule, and for the space of many years that treaty has been respected. Canadians of all classes, moreover, have renewed that treaty by their own acts in the confederation of the various Provinces which constitute the Dominion, and have loyally sought to perpetuate it for the benefit of their French Canadian countrymen.

It may be fairly contended that it is not a disadvantage to the country to have the French language implanted on this soil. It is an advantage to individuals to be able to speak two languages. By acquiring a

knowledge of both languages, their character is moulded on two different lines of thought, and their minds are broadened thereby. If people would view the matter in this light there would not be so much prejudice in regard to the question of language, the difference in which need not affect the national feelings and aspirations of the population.

On the other hand, it would be an ungrateful return for the good faith which has been kept with our French Canadian countrymen, in all that they hold dear, if they were to listen to those who seek to raise a different spirit from the true Canadian instincts which they have hitherto evinced, and with which their English-speaking countrymen are so strongly imbued. Equally ungrateful would it be if they were to take advantage of the liberality of the constitution from which they draw their freedom, to throw any obstacle in the way of that healthy national life which will enable Canada to prosper and add to the strength of the British Empire which has conferred so many benefits on the world. Moreover, while the constitution under which we live is free, it was never intended that that freedom should be used for any purpose but to preserve the integrity of the country and the welfare of its citizens.

In addition to the trial of Riel in Regina, a number of half-breeds were tried on the charge of treason-felony. These men composed Riel's council. They were

defended by Mr H. J. Clarke, of Winnipeg, a former Attorney-General of the Province of Manitoba. They pleaded guilty to the charge and were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment in the Manitoba Penitentiary, as follows :—

Seven years each : Alexander Cayen, Maxime Dubois, Pierre Henry, Maxime Lepine, Albert Monckman, Pierre Paranteau, Pierre Vandelle, Philip Guardepuy, Philip Garnot, James Short, Bapti Vandalle.

Three years : Alexander Fisher, Pierre Guardepuy, Moise Ouillette.

One year : Joseph Arcand, Ignace Poitras, junior, Ignace Poitras, senior, Moise Paranteau.

Discharged : Joseph Delorme, Alexander Labombarde, Joseph Pilon, Bapti Rocheleau, Poitrie Tourand, Francis Tourand, to appear for sentence when called upon.

In addition to these half-breeds, One Arrow, the chief of his tribe, White Cap, chief of his tribe, Poundmaker and Big Bear, chiefs of their tribes, were all tried at the same time at Regina, before Judge Richardson and Colonel McLeod. They were defended by Mr. Beverley Robertson, who was instructed by the Crown to do so. With the exception of White Cap, these chiefs were likewise sentenced to undergo an imprisonment in the Manitoba Penitentiary. At Battleford, the Indians who had committed the murders around that region and the massacre at Frog Lake were arraigned before Judge

Rouleau, upon the charge of murder. Other Indians were also arraigned upon minor charges. Eleven of them were sentenced to be hanged upon the 27th November. Two of them had been convicted of murdering a squaw, who was accused by the Indians of the crime of "wittigo" or cannibalism; they were reprieved, and their sentences commuted to imprisonment for life. Louis Mongrain, who shot Cowan, at Fort Pitt, had his sentence also commuted to imprisonment for life. This clemency was in consequence of his having notified the farm instructor, Mr. Mann, and his family, in time to save their lives at Onion Lake.

The following are the names of those who were tried before Judge Rouleau, and sentenced to be hanged:—Pa-pa-mah-cha-kaw-yo (Wandering Spirit), for murdering Thomas Quinn, Indian Agent; Ickta, for the murder of Payne, the farm instructor at Battleford; Louison Mongrain, who killed Cowan, shooting him dead after he was wounded, sentenced to be hanged, sentence commuted; Apistaskous (Little Bear), and Napase, *alias* Iron Body, were sentenced for the murder of George Dill; Pa-pa-mek-sick (Round the Sky), was sentenced for the murder of the Rev. Francois Xavier Farfard, who was killed by him when wounded; Wawanitch (the Man Without Blood), was sentenced for the murder of Bernard Tremont; Manetchus (Bad Arrow) and Kitiemakyin (Miserable Man) were sentenced to be hanged for the

murder of Charles Gouin. The Indian who killed the Rev. Father Marchand escaped to the United States with Little Poplar.

For the lesser crimes of larceny and arson, the following were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment:—Charles Poyack, a Cree Indian; Joseph Heanault, a half-breed; Eli Francis, Natoos; Bazil Favil; Frederick Armainson; Jacob, a Cree Indian; Louisan Sayer; Pierre Descoteaux; Papakwesitaus; Siahkatamo; Wyassikyin (the last three were Crees); White Face; Leon Francis; Mistatimawos, a Cree; Big Belly, *alias* Louis; Wyenoos, a Cree; Opinewewin; Mussinass; Pyechin, treason-felony; Watchiwein (Mountain Man), larceny; Katchewabeo (the Old Man); Kapachas (Little Running); Manitomenekick (God's Otter), larceny; Kawanitowas (the Idol), larceny; Tah-ko-gan, a Cree, larceny; Colbert Laplante, larceny; Wa-pa-hoo (White Owl); Wapaya (White Man), treason-felony; Osimaeasikawiw (Erect Man), receiver of stolen property; Ma-ha-ka-nis (Little Wolf), arson; Picous (Sand Fly), escaping from jail; Toussaint, *alias* Calling Bull, arson; Nawo-ki-sick-o-hinas (Four Sky Thunder), arson.

On the morning of the 27th November, at Battleford, the day broke dark and cloudy, with a frosty air, upon the execution of the eight Indians who had been sentenced to be hanged for murder. The hangings were conducted publicly, and were witnessed by a large num-

ber of whites and a few Indians. The Government authorities had permitted Indians from reserves distant ten or fifteen miles from Battleford to be present at the execution, and all night groups of the braves hung about the stores and camped upon the open ground in the vicinity of the barracks of the Mounted Police. Camp-fires lit up the prairies, and the comrades of the warriors to be executed could be heard chanting the death-songs of their tribes. Fathers Bigonnesse and Cochin remained with the condemned Indians all night. At 7.30 in the morning, each man was pinioned and marched to the scaffold, around which a strong guard was thrown. The scaffold was so arranged that each man took his place on the trap, side by side. When they were asked if they had anything to say, Wandering Spirit, in his native tongue, acknowledged that he deserved death. He warned his people not to make war on the whites, as they were their friends. He told of the Frog Lake massacre, and took the burden of the crime upon himself. He was followed by Miserable Man, who spoke in the same strain. When he had concluded, the condemned Indians, who had remained quiet through the speeches, except to exclaim "how" at various periods during Wandering Spirit's address, to signify their acquiescence in what he said, began to chant their death-song. All the while the priests could be heard reciting prayers. The chant of the savages continued even after the white caps had been

adjusted, and in the midst of their song the bolt was drawn and all fell together, each one apparently dying instantly. Dr. Rolph examined the bodies and pronounced life extinct, and in fifteen minutes they were cut down and placed in coffins, and handed over to the coroner and jury. The executions occurred without any mishap. The Indians who stood at a distance and witnessed the affair were quiet, and immediately after the executions most of them set out for their reserves. Those who remained behind showed no special signs of excitement. Though all must deplore the necessity that arose for setting so severe an example, it was done in the cause of humanity. The lesson which the Indians have been taught has been a severe one and most judicial in its character, but it will do them good in the long run, and render the peace of the country more secure—and now having asserted the majesty of the law, Canadians will realize that clemency to those misguided men who are undergoing their sentence would be magnanimous and humane.

CHAPTER XX.

Social and Political Life of the People.

For the benefit of those of my readers who are not acquainted with Canadian history, or with Canadian communities, I take this opportunity of writing a short chapter on the social and political life of the people, and have added some remarks on the capabilities of this part of Canada—the great North-West—for settlement.

The rapid growth of Canada, which is coming more and more under the notice of the world, on account of its excellent agricultural and other exported products as well as on account of the vigour and enterprise of its people, will become of greater yearly interest as the country develops and its people attain to fuller growth. Without going back to the early history of the country, itself of much interest to the diligent student to repay him for its perusal, I shall sketch only the outlines of its history, commencing with the formation of the confederacy under which Canada is now governed. What is now known as Canada consisted of a number of separate governments connected with England as Crown colonies, one and all of which had gone through the various grades

of colonial life until they had been accorded constitutional liberty within themselves. The Province of Quebec was originally settled by the French, and has gradually grown up under British rule to respect British laws and institutions, and by treaty has been allowed to attain its original internal laws, privileges and customs, an agreement which has been carried out in good faith to the present day. The Province of Ontario was altogether settled by the British, and in the year 1841 these two Provinces were united. The Maritime Provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, in order to improve their position, conceived the idea of forming a union similar to that of Ontario and Quebec. As the united Provinces of Ontario and Quebec under its constitution did not work satisfactorily, the great scheme of forming a union of the Maritime Provinces with Ontario and Quebec was agitated, and was made to embrace the still grander scheme of placing the whole of British North America under one government. The details were discussed by the representatives of these various Provinces, and their union was eventually consummated by the formation of the Dominion of Canada. The measure which called the Dominion into existence was passed in the British Parliament in 1867, and is known as the British North America Act. Shortly afterwards the Queen's proclamation was issued, making the Provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec, and Ontario, one federa-

tion, the total population of which was at that time about three millions.

In the year 1870 the North-West Territory was acquired by the Dominion; in 1871 the Province of British Columbia joined the confederacy; and in 1873, Prince Edward Island, a beautiful little isle in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, completed the grand scheme of confederation, and laid the foundation of the greatness of the country. The only Province in the northern part of this continent which has not as yet cast in its lot with Canada is the island of Newfoundland, which at present maintains its old relation to England as a Crown colony.

One of the chief points in the articles of agreement between these various Provinces was that railway communication should be opened up so as to bring them into closer communication and trade. This was first effected by the construction of the Intercolonial Railway between the Maritime Provinces and Quebec, and since perfected by the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway from ocean to ocean.

Each Province on entering the Dominion was allowed to retain its local laws and constitution dealing with its own internal affairs through its local Legislature as hitherto. Since confederation, the Lieutenant-Governor of each Province is appointed by the Governor-General in Council, and the rights, powers and privileges conceded to the local Legislatures are defined and laid down

in the British North America Act, subject to judicial interpretations. The Dominion of Canada, so constituted, is divided into ridings, for the election of members to the Dominion House of Commons at Ottawa, apportioned to the various Provinces forming the confederation, according to their population, and based on that of the Province of Quebec. The Dominion Government, so constituted, consists of an Executive Council of thirteen members with the Governor-General at the head, an elective House of Commons after that of England, and the Senate after the model of the House of Lords, with the exception that the number of its members are fixed by statute and cannot be increased at the will of the Government. The Senators are appointed for life by the Crown, and their duties are similar to those of the House of Lords. The Executive Councils of the various Provinces consist of five or six members with the Lieutenant-Governor at the head. The Dominion Parliament controls matters connected with trade, commerce, defence, and the general welfare of the whole country. The highest court of appeal is the Privy Council of England, the people having preserved to them as a valuable privilege the right to appeal at the foot of the throne. The Governor-General is appointed by the British Government for a term of five years. With the exception of these two silken threads, the political independence of the people is complete. As British subjects they enjoy

the valuable privileges of England's prestige and the advantage of her foreign diplomatic system in all parts of the world. To the Imperial Government is reserved the power to disallow the Acts of the Canadian Parliament, when deemed prejudicial to the welfare of the empire; and the Dominion Government has the power to disallow the Acts of the local Legislatures, which it does when they are inimicial to the interests of the Canadian people, a most valuable check upon sectional influences. This system of government is the outgrowth of the wisdom of the people who have made the country, and whose wants and aspirations have year by year, attested the value of controlling their own local affairs while leaving their general interests to the care of the Federal Government.

The Parliament of Canada is annually held at Ottawa, permanently located as the seat of Government by the Queen in the year 1858. The local Parliaments meet annually in their respective capitals,—Charlottetown, in Prince Edward Island; Halifax, in Nova Scotia; Fredericton, in New Brunswick; Quebec, in Quebec; Toronto, in Ontario; Winnipeg, in Manitoba; Regina, in the North-West Territories, and Victoria, in British Columbia.

A High Commissioner resides in London, England, to look after the interests of Canada in all matters relating to the people and the Government. Sir Alexander Galt was the first statesman appointed to this position, afterwards succeeded by Sir Charles Tupper, who

fills the post to-day. This appointment is a step in advance in the political history of the country and its connection with England. The question of a political change in the relations of Canada with England is one up for discussion at the present day. It is not a question brought forward by any corporation or government, but one that has been agitated by those who aspire to the possession of greater power and greater prestige for the British race. By the gradual loosening of the paternal ties, under which our growth has been fostered, an aspiration, the outgrowth of Canadian life, is leading to changes which, if wisely directed, will yet make Canada a brighter jewel in the British Crown.

To repress the loyal and patriotic feelings the people of Canada have for British institutions, British progress and civilization, will be no easy matter, and a closer connection with the mother country and with their fellow subjects in every part of the world may be hoped for.

Imperial federation is a matter of grave importance to the British Empire at large, and may fairly be discussed as a practical question affecting the future of British subjects the world over, and now that the problem of greater legislative concessions for the Irish people is being mooted, the present is an opportune time to give vent to any views bearing upon the relations of England with her colonies. Great Britain has made a noble effort to indoctrinate the world with the liberal ideas of Free

Trade, but the world has hitherto refused to accept any trade doctrines based on philanthropic ideas. She has a Colonial Empire, with a population whose feelings and aspirations are in unison with the mother country, but in shaping their destiny they have to be governed by the circumstances by which they are surrounded. It may be alleged that Great Britain protects her colonies in consideration of the allegiance they owe to the Crown; but in reality she acts as a police for the world, and so long as her armies and her fleet are used for the general protection of all, and she frames her trade policy for the benefit of the world at large, the colonies, owing to their weakness, have to legislate to protect themselves in their trade relations. Should British statesmen, however, recognize that there is a future in the development of the colonies for the strength of the British Empire, commercially and generally, it may be worth while considering whether a change in her fiscal policy would not have the effect of solidifying that empire, and it is possible in the future that by a protective policy, and by the building up of the markets of the empire, other nations may some some day hereafter be induced to knock at the door and universal free trade may become a reality. If in the meantime the British Empire is to be strengthened by unity, the benefits conferred on the world at large by Great Britain's power will increase so long as the British

people continue to be the embodiment of christianity, civilization and commerce.

Canada has a direct interest in this question, for Imperial Federation upon a trade basis would make Canada the Imperial highway between the Atlantic and the Pacific, and the value of that trade in the future, with all that it brings in its train, cannot be over-estimated. As a Canadian nation, pure and simple, although we have strong national aspirations, we could never expect to exercise an influence in the world, nor probably be able to maintain an independent position in it, but as an integral part of the British Empire we would become a most powerful arm of that empire, which does exercise an influence in the world. An impression exists that Imperial Federation would deprive the colonies of some of their rights; it would have a contrary effect. It would increase their rights and privileges, for it would give them the power of voting upon any question that affects the interests of the empire, of which they form part. On the other hand, the practical experience of her colonies would not have a deteriorating effect upon the talented statesmen of Great Britain, but their hands would be strengthened by the support of these growing populations. The contention is also made that the land questions which complicate the politics of the mother country have no interest to us. But this is a fallacy, for the rights of property and the protection of industry,

though not a living question, are a vital point of our political life, and anything that will lay a solid foundation, upon which the industry and thrift of the people can build, should meet our sympathies. Imperial Federation should be formed to strengthen Great Britain, and to strengthen her colonies, which united, will create a power to withstand the fight that will, in the future, unquestionably have to be maintained between christianity and civilization on one side, and infidelity and socialism on the other, and the healthy offshoot of the parent stem will materially help to sustain the principles which have been the motive power of the Anglo-Saxon race.

While the question of Imperial federation upon a trade basis of protection does not appear to be in accordance with the principles or education of the English people of the present generation, and although a change of their fiscal policy might be looked upon as a change of principle, yet, if solid benefits are to be derived from such a change, surely it is worth while to give the matter more than a passing thought. One fact may be accepted, and that is that British subjects, no matter in what part of the world they may live, have the same interest and the same disposition to maintain the honour and integrity of Great Britain, commercially or otherwise, as those residing in the British Isles. The people of the United States have grown in numbers, as well as grown in wealth and

prestige, under a protective policy. This is mainly owing to the enormous internal trade that has been developed within their own boundaries; and from the varied commodities they are capable of producing in the different climatic regions comprised within their limits, they are practically independent of the outside world for support. The same varied productions exist within the limits of the British Empire, including its colonial possessions, and if, therefore, the United States derive actual advantage from a protective policy, the same beneficial results may be looked for within the limits of a confederated British Empire. A citizen of the United States, moving from New York State to California, though three thousand miles away, is no weakness to their country, and under Imperial Federation, a British subject, if moving from the United Kingdom to Canada or Australia, would be a strength to the empire, and for that reason all efforts on behalf of emigration, should, as much as possible, be encouraged in that direction. There is no reason why, if British subjects are on a par commercially, they should not be able to contribute their share to the maintainance of British power; and if that principle were once established the larger markets and the larger population that would be created by that community of interest would yearly add to the strength and prestige of the empire at large, and to the maintainance of its supremacy, financially and morally.

A great many suggestions have been made by eminent men in regard to Imperial federation, but there are so many difficulties surrounding the project, the accomplishment of which would be the greatest political achievement in the world's history, that nothing practical has yet come of them. Still, it would seem that the present moment is favourable for bringing this question forward into the arena of practical politics. The present position of the Irish question, and the demand the Irish people have put forward for local autonomy, render it necessary for the British Parliament to consider seriously all that that demand involves. While Canadians would not like to see the constitutional liberty of the Irish people checked, they would as little like to see the unity of the empire impaired, and to that extent Canadians are interested. If a scheme for the federation of the empire were formulated there is no reason then why Ireland should not possess the same constitutional liberties as are enjoyed by Canada without fear of the ultimate result.

As a preliminary measure, in order to bring the views of those different peoples who constitute the British Empire into shape upon this question, it might be suggested that a council be formed, consisting of representatives from Canada, from Australia and New Zealand, and from South Africa (representing the great colonial centres of the empire), to confer with representatives from the United Kingdom, appointed in any

manner that each Parliament may elect. This council could then discuss the practicability of uniting the empire upon some basis which would be acceptable to all. In order to thoroughly gauge public opinion upon the subject and to obtain the views of the people at large, this council should meet in Canada, Australia, and the Cape, before finally meeting in England to sum up the results of their labours. The effect of such a council could scarcely fail to be of practical benefit and good results would certainly follow. The meeting of colonists this year at the great Colonial Exhibition, to be held in England, would be an opportune time to take some practical step to bring forward the discussion of some scheme that would lead to so desirable a result as the closer union of all British subjects, though from the British Government would have to come the invitation to form a preliminary council.

The liberty of the Canadian people, under their confederated constitution, is perfect, and the most minute details of their public life are subject to the popular voice, and an enlargement of the scheme of confederation would not deprive them of any portion of this freedom.

In Manitoba the municipal affairs are conducted by councils, which are elective bodies, having the supervision of roads, bridges, assessment, etc., and consist of six members. Each municipality consists of six or nine surveyed townships of thirty-six square miles each. For judicial

purposes the Province is divided into three districts, called the Eastern, Western, and Central, to each of which a judicial board is appointed, consisting of a chairman and four elective members. This board sees to the collection of arrears of taxes, the management of gaols, selection of jurors, and everything connected with the judicial affairs of the district. In Ontario this work is done by county councils. The system varies slightly in the other Provinces. The township councils consist of four or more members, as the case may be, with a reeve as their head. They meet regularly to look after the affairs of the locality. The county council in Ontario is composed of all the township reeves and deputy-reeves, who elect a warden as their head, and assembles in session two or three times in the year. In addition to this we have our school boards, with very extensive powers, to secure the best education of the people. Town and city government, each within itself, is on a similar basis.

By these various methods of government it will be seen that the freedom of the people is complete, and that self-government has reached a limit it would be difficult to improve upon. The franchise, fixed at a very low amount, gives the mass of the population an equal voice in the government of the country. The revenue is chiefly derived from customs and excise, there being no direct tax except that levied by the municipal bodies for municipal purposes. The Dominion Government distributes

a portion of the revenue among the Provinces according to the population, to meet the expenses of local administration. The most perfect equality in religious matters exists, all denominations being tolerated and respected.

Previous to the acquisition of the North-West Territories, the growth of the country was very gradual, when the land had to be reclaimed from the interminable forests by patient, hard-fisted labour. It took a settler many years from the time he went on his farm to clear it, by which time, however, he found himself possessed of a valuable property, and where, it may be, he had reared and educated a large family, and had been able to lay by a sufficient sum to give him a moderate independence in the evening of his life. In addition to this he probably had placed a son or two on farms of their own in the neighbourhood, watching the opportunity to purchase places partially improved. Such is the history of nearly all the industrious men who have taken up a free grant of land in the forests of Canada. By the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, large forest tracts in the Province of Ontario are opened up where free grants of land can be obtained, and another half century is going to witness greater developments in this magnificent Province.

The educational advantages are unsurpassed: so excellent are they that many farmers' sons and sons of the labouring population go through the higher schools and

take a position in the professional and commercial callings of the country.

Canada, on this continent, is destined to take the place that England occupies in Europe in the raising of high grade stock of all kinds, the climate, soil and pursuits of the people being conducive to that result. To-day Ontario takes the lead in this respect, and, except perhaps Kentucky, she exports more horses to the United States than any single State in the Union can furnish to their neighbouring States. The producing power of Ontario is capable of being increased three or fourfold by more enlightened farming, and great strides are now being made in that direction. In agriculture, Ontario, Manitoba, and the North-West Territory lead the way among the other Provinces. In Quebec, the Maritime Provinces, and British Columbia, the chief industries are fishing, mining, lumbering, and ship-building.

Since the acquisition of the North-West Territories, when Canada became possessed of an enormous area of rich prairie land ready for the plough, the advancement of the country has been more rapid, and a larger field for her young men has been opened up, where they are able to carve out homes for themselves on Canadian soil. The natural increase of the population was so great that it could not be absorbed in the slow growth formerly attained, hence, the United States was hitherto the field where the surplus population sought employment, and

where Canadians have laid the foundation of many thriving settlements on the western prairies of the neighbouring republic. At least seventy-five thousand Canadians gain their livelihood in Chicago alone; while French-Canadians have crossed the border line to the manufacturing centres of the Eastern States; but many families are now migrating hither to get more elbow-room for their sons, as the development of our prairie regions offers to them homes under their own flag and government.

It is said that at least a million Canadians now gain their livelihood in the United States, which has the effect of maintaining a strong bond of sympathy, nay, even affection, between the two peoples, for there is scarcely a household in Canada that has not a relative residing in the United States. This fact, however, produces no effect upon the political sympathies of the people, Canadians realizing that, in addition to the natural ties of kinship with the mother country, their interests for trade and commerce lie in the development of the domestic lines of communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific, and holding for the benefit of this carrying trade their great continental highway.

In the North-West Territories, Manitoba has been carved out to take a position as a Province of the Dominion. From the eastern boundary of this Province to the twenty-ninth range, which is the western

boundary, it is about three hundred miles; its northern boundary extends two hundred and sixty miles north from the boundary line of the United States. Its form of local government is similar to that of the other Provinces of the Dominion. The North-West Territory is governed by a Council, consisting of members elected wherever a thousand of a population is congregated within a limited space, and of a number of members appointed by the Dominion Government. As soon as the population is large enough to elect twenty-one representatives, the appointed members drop out. These constitute the North-West Council, which manages the local affairs of the whole Territory, between the Provinces of Manitoba and British Columbia, the population not being dense enough yet to carve out another Province. Four Districts, however, have been created for postal and registration purposes, called Saskatchewan, Assiniboia, Alberta, and Athabaska, which no doubt in time will attain to the dignity of Provinces in the Dominion. The people of the District of Assiniboia, through which the Canadian Pacific Railway runs, are already agitating for separate local powers.

The land regulations of the Government in the North-West are liberal. They are in charge of a land commissioner and a land board in Winnipeg, who supervise the various agencies throughout the country, and have the power to settle all disputes that may arise

in the location of claims. For this purpose, the country is divided up into districts, each presided over by a land agent and an assistant, where the entries for land are made, and through whom the business of the settlers is conducted with the Government, in the location and settlement of homesteads. Every settler is entitled to a free homestead of one hundred and sixty acres, with the right of purchasing the adjoining one hundred and sixty acres, called his pre-emption, for the fixed sum of two dollars or two dollars and a half per acre, according to its proximity to the Canadian Pacific Railway. This privilege the settler secures at the end of three years, provided he has performed settlement duties upon his homestead, which consist of residence thereon for six months in each year for three years succeeding his entry, building a house and stable, and cultivating a small portion of his land. After having performed his settlement duties to the extent described, he applies for his patent, testifying to the faithful performance of his contract with the Government, which is further assured by the affidavits of two of his neighbours, and certified by the land commissioner, his patent issues. If so inclined, he is then entitled to enter upon another homestead, performing his duties in the same manner. These homesteads are eligible only upon even-numbered sections of the survey, the odd-numbered sections being reserved by the Government for sale, or for the subsidizing of railway

companies for the further development of the country by railway communication.

The growth of the Province of Manitoba has been very rapid. From a population of twelve thousand, in 1870, it has now grown to upwards of a hundred thousand, with all the organizations for self-government enjoyed by the older Provinces. Villages, towns, and cities are springing up on all sides, by the enterprise and ambition of the people in the various districts, who seek to improve them year by year in order to create local markets for the consumption of their produce. As an example of the growth of the country, the district in which I reside—embracing the North-Western District of Manitoba, and comprised within Range 16 and Range 29 from the United States boundary line up to Township 23—in 1880, comparatively speaking, there was not a settler beyond those connected with the Hudson's Bay posts, while to-day there are fifty thousand people gaining a comfortable livelihood. The assessment of the various municipalities which comprise it amounts to twenty-two million dollars, at an average rate of four dollars per acre. It will thus be seen, that in that small district alone, within the past few years, twenty-two million dollars has been added to the capital wealth of the country, and what was a barren waste is now in process of becoming a cultivated tract. The country is settled by immigrants from England, Scotland, Ireland,

and the Eastern Provinces of Canada, who bring with them from five hundred to five thousand dollars each, which is expended in building their homes and stocking their farms with implements and live stock, and their industry adds to the purchasing power of the country which the bountiful soil enables them to enjoy. It is a well-known fact that the farther north grain is grown successfully the greater the value of the wheat for the manufacture of flour: samples of our grain which have found their way to England have been classed among the highest grades. Although the country is yet too young to supply that market, of the three or four million bushels we annually export much is purchased by the American and Canadian millers to improve their grade of flour. The country is subject to early frosts, which nip late grain and deteriorate the quality; but as it is this nearness to the frost-line that makes our wheat of such superior quality, it must be considered a not unmixed evil; and those who succeed in harvesting their grain before the frost secure a valuable crop. With the occupation and cultivation of the country, however, these frosts will cease to affect the wheat injuriously. If we had half the population in Manitoba that is in the Province of Ontario or Quebec, we could annually export twenty million bushels yearly, besides supplying the local market. It is worthy of note that the wheat which took the leading prize at the American Centennial in 1876

was grown at Fort Chippawayan, one thousand miles north-west of Prince Albert, and such is the superior quality of Manitoba wheat that the market price to-day in Toronto, for the best samples, is one dollar and five cents, against eighty-two cents for the best grade of Ontario wheat.

The purity of the atmosphere and the luxuriance of vegetation are also conducive to the very highest results in stock-raising. A neighbour of mine, from a flock of Southdown sheep running on the prairie, this year killed a lamb, dressed for market, weighing seventy-eight pounds; and from the same flock a lamb was killed last year weighing seventy-seven pounds. Another neighbour killed a Leicester lamb weighing eighty-one pounds. In the same neighbourhood a two-year-old beast was killed, which, when dressed, weighed eight hundred pounds, without stall-feeding. These are examples of what can be accomplished by the ordinary farmer. Where the prairies are so extensive there is no limit to the enterprise of the farmer in stock-raising. Native horses, because they are able to paw the snow from off the grass with their hoofs, can graze the whole winter through, nature providing them with a sufficient coat to protect them from the winter's storm. Cattle have not the same power to paw the snow, and hence have to be fed, except in the western portions of the territory, near the base of the Rocky Mountains, where the

mild winds, or chinook winds, as they are called, blow through the gaps of the Rocky Mountains from the Pacific Ocean, and prevent the snow lying any length of time. The cattle there, where large ranches are established and have proved most profitable, are enabled to graze in large herds without winter-feeding. The people, in the encouragement of agriculture, hold annual exhibitions of grain, roots and stock, and everything manufactured by the farmers or for their use. Every county has its exhibition, and every Province has its annual "fair," aided by grants from the local governments, to encourage their excellence, and prizes are awarded amounting to five hundred dollars in the smaller places and five thousand dollars in the larger places.

The township councils, the county councils, and the school boards, have power to borrow money by issuing debentures, and such is the promptness with which their liability for interest is met that municipal and school debentures are a favourite form of investment. It is by means of these loans that the construction of local railroads has been stimulated, and by the fostering care of the Dominion Government, the local Government, and the municipal bodies, the prosperity of the country is stimulated and realized, through the magnificent public works which have been constructed. Since Confederation was established in 1867, by means of the Intercolonial, and this year by the Canadian Pacific Railways, the two

Atlantic ports of Halifax in Nova Scotia and St. John in New Brunswick have been connected with the Pacific ports in British Columbia. This long line of upwards of three thousand miles gives the people speedy means of communication with one another, and cheap transport for produce.

Among the most onerous and responsible duties the Dominion Government has to perform, and which absorb a large share of the revenue of the country, is that which provides for the care of her Indian population; and so nobly and so justly has Canada treated the wards of the nation that very few tales of atrocity occur in her history, such as are related in the history of other countries. Canada has had her Indian friends as allies whenever their help was needed. The well-known Indian chiefs, Tecumseh and Brant, after whom the flourishing city of Brantford is called, are celebrated in history as noble specimens of North American Indians. An amusing story is told of Brant. When visiting England many years ago, he was invited to a masque ball and was asked to come in his native costume. This stately, dignified savage, stalking silently about the spacious apartments as a guest, was supposed by the company to be a masquer. An inquisitive individual, dressed as a Turk, followed him about, endeavouring to penetrate his disguise. Becoming bolder, this fellow's impertinence annoyed Brant, who, like a flash of lightning, drew his tomahawk, and

twisting his fingers in the hair of the Turk, uttered one of those blood-curdling yells that Indians alone know how to give, and threatened his scalp. Having well played his part, to the astonishment and wonderment of the assembly, and to the evident discomforture of his Turkish friend, Brant quietly continued his silent, stately promenade.

Scattered throughout the older provinces of the Dominion, the Indians have grown up peaceably with their white brethren become thoroughly accustomed to the ways of the civilized world, and give little trouble to the authorities. But with the acquisition of the North-West Territories and the Province of British Columbia, the management of her Indian population became at once both difficult and expensive. Following out the traditional policy of the country, one of the first duties that devolved upon the Government was the extinction of the Indian title by means of treaty, which was principally effected by a commission under Lieutenant-Governors Archibald and Morris, and afterwards by Lieutenant-Governor Laird. The making of all these treaties required a great deal of patience and not a little tact on their part; for the Indian is not wanting in intelligence nor cunning, displaying an extreme fondness for speech-making, containing a great flow of language, generally wide of the mark they intend to lead up to. When this has to be done through one and sometimes two

interpreters, the patience of the officers upon whom this duty devolves can be imagined. The Indians have sufficient intelligence to know that they must make a treaty, but they are bound to have as much feasting and as much talking over it as they possibly can before they bind themselves over. The basis upon which these treaties have been made is an annual payment of five dollars a year to every man, woman and child in the various tribes, with an additional amount for the chiefs and councillors, and a reserve of land set apart for their use, of their own selecting, which is faithfully held in trust for them by the Government. As a separate treaty is made with each tribe, and the tribes are numerous, it took several years to accomplish the work. The ground is now, however, pretty well covered. The country is divided up into districts, over each of which an Indian agent is appointed, whose duty it is to care for the interests of the various tribes in his agency and annually to pay them their treaty money. These agencies are supervised by inspectors, over whom again is an Indian Commissioner, at present Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney, and an assistant Indian Commissioner, Mr. Hayter Reid.

When all the treaties were completed, the Government set to work to civilize the Indians and to teach them to gain a livelihood from the soil by their own industry. To that end, farms were established in each agency, and farm instructors appointed to encourage them in the

pursuit of agriculture. This was strongly recommended by Lieutenant-Governor Laird,—the first Indian Commissioner appointed, and one who exercised a most beneficial influence among the Indian population. The Government provided the necessary implements and cattle to commence upon, which are held in trust by the Indians for their profitable use, and not given to be dealt with as they wish. In addition, rations are served out according to their necessities. The provisions in regard to these measures have been liberal, though only voluntary, not being part of the original treaty. It was found necessary by the Government to deal in this manner, because the encroachments of the white man were depriving the natives of the main sources of their livelihood, hunting the buffalo, which hitherto roamed in countless herds over this vast territory. So avaricious and wanton has the white man been to the south of the boundary line, that the noble animal of the prairies has now become a memory of the past. There, they were driven by stratagem into traps and slaughtered wholesale, merely for the sake of their hides; nothing is more conclusive on this point than the trade returns of the United States, which show that from a hundred thousand robes and upwards, annually, the trade in this particular has almost ceased, and buffalo robes will shortly become a curiosity of the fur trade.

The buffalo was wont to roam over the immense

prairies, from south to north, seeking out the most luxuriant pasture lands of the Saskatchewan valley in the summer season, and returning to the south for winter quarters. Latterly, however, the American Indians and traders, notably Sitting Bull and his warlike tribe, have altogether prevented them crossing the boundary line into our districts, thus depriving our Indians of their source of support. The industry and capital of the white man is now covering the luxuriant prairies with vast herds of cattle instead, in which, however, the Indians do not share and dare not meddle. In regard to "cattle-lifting," it is astonishing how seldom depredations are committed by them, which may be attributed to the native honesty of the Indian. The activity and fearlessness of the Mounted Police, and the justice which they have always shown, have also helped to bring about this beneficial result. They have not known two laws, one for the white man and one for the Indian, but by their impartiality have dealt out equal justice, thus causing the Indian to respect the white man's laws. It is an astonishing fact that during the fifteen years that Canada has occupied this country, until the present season, the settlements have been unmolested and have lived in peace and harmony with the Indian, without fear and without anxiety.

I have myself had some experience of the Indians, having lived in the centre of a number of tribes,

and have nothing but good to say of them. When my nearest neighbour was twelve miles distant, the Indians would come and go from my house in the most friendly manner, and I never had to complain of their dishonesty. We have had a number at a time taking shelter from the storms, when they would exchange their furs and game for provisions; and year after year they might go on in this peaceful, civil, friendly manner without disturbance; but once excite them with war and their savage nature is then uppermost. I cannot liken them more forcibly than to an English bull dog, whose demeanour and actions are peaceful and gentle except when confronted with one of its own species, when its brutal nature is apparent, and it has not the power to restrain its actions. As one Indian during the late campaign naively expressed himself, when asked what he went to fight for, he said, "I know it is wrong to go, I know that it is foolish to go, but there is something in me that makes me go," and in these few words may be expressed the Indian character, and by these feelings we must judge of and guide them. Had they not been influenced by the machinations of Riel, who hoped to enlist their aid, the present organized effort would not have reached important dimensions. The rapidity with which Canada has covered the country with her troops and succeeded in her battles, will teach them more than ever to respect the power and the laws

of the country; but it should lead us to deal with them as kindly, as justly, and as firmly as in the past, to protect them in their means of livelihood, to lead them to civilization and to acquire and manifest an individuality of their own.

In addition to the reserves which are set apart for their use, any Indian who wishes to resign his treaty and become an owner of land on his own account, can select a section of six hundred and forty acres in his reserve, and when recommended by the agent as capable of maintaining himself, he obtains his patent. As a further incentive towards civilization, the franchise has been conferred on Indians who thus take up land. In addition, an Act was passed in 1884, called "The Indian Advancement Act," for conferring certain privileges on the more advanced bands of the Indians of Canada, with the view of training them for the exercise of municipal powers within their own reserves. This Act, brought in by Sir John Macdonald, is an Act the Dominion of Canada may well be proud of, and is one of the most liberal measures ever brought in to elevate an uncivilized race. We have yet much to learn in our dealings with the Indians of this territory, which can only be gained by a more patient and intimate study of their character, and of anything that would better their condition. It would be wise to prohibit the sun-dance, which is only an occasion for relating the brave deeds

they have done, and of exciting the young men to emulate the warriors whenever the opportunity offers. Or the annual gathering of the sun dance might be turned into a social gathering for industrial and instructive purposes.

It is questionable if it is wise to continue the tribal relations, which might be gradually altered. Especially should the education of the children be encouraged and fostered. Towards this end there have been established forty-two Indian schools in the Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territory, with a total attendance of twelve hundred and sixty-one, and an average daily attendance of seven hundred and eighty pupils. These schools are wholly supported by the Government, with industrial schools at Battleford, Qu'Appelle, and High River, near Calgary, and assistance is rendered to the Methodist Indian Orphanage, established by the Rev. Mr. McDougall, on the Stony reserve, a Morley, in the Rocky Mountains, and to the Roman Catholic Industrial School, at St. Albert, near Edmonton. The total Indian population of the North-West is thirty-four thousand, that of British Columbia thirty-nine thousand, while the Indian population of the whole Dominion is one hundred and thirty-one thousand nine hundred and fifty-two.

Since these troubles commenced a Bill was passed making it criminal to supply arms and ammunition to Indians by any storekeeper or other person without a

written permit. In addition, an Act was passed empowering the Government on their own authority to proclaim any district which they might deem disaffected to be declared so, and to disarm the population of that district. This is a mere precautionary measure, and it is hoped that no necessity will arise to put it in force.

I insert here an interesting letter from Crowfoot, Chief of the Blackfeet tribe, which was transmitted through Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney to the Government, and read out in Parliament by Sir John Macdonald:—

"From BLACKFOOT CROSSING,
"*via* Gleichen, N. W. T.,
"April 11, 1885.

"On behalf of myself and people I send through you to the great mother the words I have given to the Governor at a council held, at which my minor chiefs and young men were present. We are agreed and determind to remain loyal to the Queen. Our young men will go to work on their reserves and will raise all the crops we can, and we hope the Government will help us to sell what we can't use. Continued reports and many lies are brought to us and we don't know what to believe, but now that we have seen the Governor and heard him speak, we will shut our ears and only listen to and believe through the Governor. Should any Indians come to our reserves and ask us to join them in war we will send them away. I have sent messengers to the Bloods and Piegans who belong to our treaty to tell them what we are doing and what we intend to do about the trouble. I want Mr. Denny to be with us and all my men are of the same mind. The words I sent by Father La Combe I again send: 'We will be loyal to the Queen whatever happens.' I have a copy of this and when the trouble is

over will have it with pride to show to the Queen's officers; and we leave our future in your hands. We have asked for nothing, but the Governor has given us a little present of tea and tobacco. We will tell you what other talk we had at our council. It is all good, not one bad word.

"CROWFOOT."

The loyalty of these tribes on this occasion avoided a large amount of embarrassment to the country in quelling the disturbance in the North. The question of dealing with the Plain Indians in the future is one of moment to the country. They have been deprived of their natural means of livelihood, the buffalo, and on the open prairie they have not the means of supporting themselves except by agriculture, or by being fed at the expense of the country. It does not do to suppose that the most profitable use the labour of the Indians can be put to is to make them farmers, for there is in the northern part of the territory a large amount of valuable fur of all kinds by which the Indians might support themselves, and which would largely add to the trade of the country. Their natural inclination is for trapping and hunting, and to those Indian tribes who show an inclination to leave the plains for the forest it would be wise to transport them to reserves where they could settle down and gain a livelihood by these means. No one who visited their districts during the campaign could fail to realize the progress that has been made by the Chippawayans

and Wood Crees on their reserves on the Beaver River and round Loon Lake. They had built houses, accumulated stock, and enjoyed the abundant fish with which the northern lakes teem, besides having the profit on the sale of the valuable fur which they trap. The more Indians of the North-West Territory that could be placed in the same position, the better for themselves and the better for the country. The policy of allowing half-breeds to take the Indian treaty is detrimental. Those half-breeds who have been half-civilized by intermarriage with the whites should not be allowed to return to their savage life, but be made to settle down to industrial pursuits, to continue the civilization that their intermarriage has commenced by allotting them the scrip to which the half-breeds are entitled, instead of by supporting them in the same way the Indians are supported, and thus be encouraged to cultivate the soil.

An impression is created that the officials who have to deal with the Indians do not discharge their duties faithfully or honestly. From my observation in the district I reside, I believe this is not the case. A better class of officials, however, might be obtained in the lower ranks by the payment of higher salaries; it cannot be expected that for a small salary the best men of the country are available for these responsible positions, isolated as they are in the remote portions of the country. Inferior flour sometimes finds its way into the Indian camps, but

this frequently arises from the fact that the Indian Department is anxious to give settlers the benefit of the local supply, and therefore the quality of the flour varies with the quality of the wheat in particular outlying districts. Where the flour is purchased, tenders for flour calls for a higher grade when brought into the North-West than that supplied by local mills, in order to encourage the settlers. Indians should be supplied with beef instead of bacon, now that stock is becoming plentiful. Many tribes have large bands of horses; their wealth hitherto was gauged by the number of their horses. While they had the buffalo to hunt horses may have been fairly considered necessary, but now it would be wiser to make them trade their horses for cattle and encourage them to become pastoral.

The Indian agencies are directly supervised by inspectors: at present Mr. Wadsworth and Mr. Lawrence Herchmer, both of whom are as faithful, honest, and intelligent officers as any country could employ. I do not think any blame can be attached to the officials of the Indian Department for the difficulties and troubles that constantly arise in dealing with the Indian population; they arise more from the altered circumstances of the Indians' lives than from anything else. A better class of officials would be obtained by selecting them from among the settlers of the country, who, from residence there, are more or less brought into contact with the Indian popula-

tion, and acquire a certain knowledge of their character and have learned to respect their position. There are good Indians and bad Indians; it does not do to judge or govern the whole Indian population by the misdemeanour of the turbulent. There is a good field in the North-West for philanthropy in educating, civilizing and christianizing them, in encouraging them to live in houses and make their homes comfortable, and above all in economizing and preparing the provisions that are liberally supplied by the Government. Towards this end many noted missionaries are working among them, but the organized effort of the Government is essential to successful results. It is a far more noble effort to put forth to preserve this subordinate race and to elevate them, than to regard them as a clog in the wheels of progress. They are human like ourselves, and their labour is valuable to the country. This is no speculative idea, as we have the experience of the older Provinces where the Indians have attained a high degree of civilization, intelligence and industry upon reserves that have been faithfully held in trust for them. These reserves are now among the most valuable farming estates in the districts upon which the Indians reside.

A reference to Canadian life and industry would not be complete without referring to the growth of our railway system. The foundation of our railway communication was laid by the Grand Trunk Railway Company, in

1853, which, when completed, connected the seaport of Quebec with the western portion of the Province of Ontario. Upon Confederation, in 1867, it was stipulated by the provinces interested that a line of railway should be built to connect the Grand Trunk Railway system with the seaboard at Halifax and St. John, which was accomplished as a Government work about 1874, and a first-class line—the Intercolonial—was constructed at an expense of twenty-six million dollars.

Upon the entrance of the Province of British Columbia, in 1871, it was stipulated that this Province should be connected with the Dominion of Canada by a trans-continental line. This undertaking was a bold and ambitious one for Canada, but the desire to bring the whole of British North America under one government, and to obtain the seaports of the Pacific, was the stimulus that made the Canadian people give their guarantee to the Province of British Columbia that they would undertake the work. It took many years to complete, because the question of expense and cost entered very largely into the political discussions of the time, and its progress was delayed.

A question arose as to the advisibility of constructing that portion of the line to the north of Lake Superior, in order to secure intercommunication through Canadian territory with the Province of Manitoba and the North-West. The Honourable Mr. Blake thought that it was

sufficient to develop the prairie regions for the present, making use of the American connections for winter trade, and the lake navigation for summer trade. Sir John Macdonald's government, on the contrary, held firmly to the construction and maintenance of an all-rail route for the whole year round, through Canadian territory, in which it was sustained, and the great wisdom of this policy was made apparent during the recent outbreak in the North-West.

In Sir Garnet Wolseley's expedition, in 1870, Canadians were for a time debarred from making use of the Sault St. Marie Canal, an important link in the navigation of Lake Superior, constructed on American territory, and it was only upon Sir Edward Thornton, the British Ambassador, assuring the American authorities that the mission of Sir Garnet Wolseley was one of peace, that the Canadian steamers were allowed to go through the Canal. Indeed, had not the Canadian Government taken the precaution of keeping the *Chicora* upon the Lake Superior side of the canal the expedition might have been entirely blocked by the delay that ensued. Similarly, had the Canadian Pacific road not been built by the north shore of Lake Superior, it is more than probable that the Government could not have transported the necessary troops for the suppression of the late rebellion, without great delay and difficulty, and possibly national humiliation.

This railway was constructed by Canadian capitalists, largely subsidized by the Government in land and money, and the present year witnesses the completion of a trans-continental railway from ocean to ocean. It is an evidence of the enterprise, ambition and ability of the Canadian people. After taking into account the short life of the Dominion, it is wonderful that this great work has this year been brought to a successful completion. Its merits have been so much appreciated by the Imperial Government that their attention has been drawn to it as a mail route to China and Australia; and it is likely to prove a valuable auxiliary to the military strength and unity of the empire.

To give an idea of the magnitude of the work, it may be said that at one time twenty-three thousand men were on the pay roll of the company and that of their contractors, while eight hundred tons of dynamite were used in its construction; it is three thousand three hundred miles long, from Montreal to Port Moody, in one continuous line, and in addition it has one thousand miles of branches, all under the control of one company. The time by this road is shortened between England and China by six days over any other trans-continental route. The road will make Canada a connecting link between Australia and England, which will in time create a marked effect upon the political relations of the British Empire; and in international commerce, there is

no doubt that it will become a powerful competitor for the trade of the Pacific.

To the credit of Mr. Stephen (who has lately had the honour of a Baronetcy conferred upon him by Her Majesty), Mr. Angus, Mr. Donald A. Smith, and Mr. McIntyre, all of whom emigrated to Canada in 1852-3 as young men, to seek their fortunes in this country, is due the successful carrying out of this undertaking, which they now control in the interests of Canada. But more than all is the credit due to Sir John Macdonald, the veteran leader of the Government, who used his great political influence to persuade Parliament to pledge the credit of the country in order that this great national work might be completed from ocean to ocean, without which the efforts of the company would have met with failure; and for this the country owes him a debt it can never repay.

The construction of this railway has given a great impetus to the development of the North-West Territories and the Province of Manitoba, for by its means a magnificent domain is opened up, and facilities given to develop tracts of country which are capable of providing comfortable homes for a large population.

In 1885 the earnings of the Canadian Pacific Railway, including its branches, were upwards of eight million dollars, most of which was distributed among the Canadian people, adding to their earnings and adding to their

property; and it is an evidence of the future importance of the carrying trade in Canada, and the advantage of developing our eastern and western connections to the fullest extent.

There is yet one main artery which remains to be constructed in the North-West, and that is the Hudson's Bay Railway, from Winnipeg to the mouth of the Churchill or Nelson rivers, to give an outlet for produce by this short ocean route. To testing the practicability of this route the Dominion Government have sent up a steamer, two years running, and placed observatories, where they left officers for a year, to report on the meteorological and other influences affecting the navigation of the Hudson's Bay and Straits. For scientific purposes these reports will no doubt prove valuable, but for practical purposes the same value cannot be attached to them. It is sufficient to know that for two hundred years the Hudson's Bay Company have used this route annually with sailing vessels to supply the interior of the country, and to bring back their furs, with rarely a mishap. By the superior appliances of steam and navigation, the same practical benefits will be attained for the more extended commerce consequent upon the development of the country. When a railway is constructed it will shorten the route to Europe materially, during the open season, which would probably be for about three or four months, and the construction of the Hudson's Bay

Railway would immensely stimulate the development of the North-West. As an aid in the construction of this railway, a free port might advantageously be established at the terminus of the railway. It would repay the Dominion for the concession by opening up large fishing and mineral interests, and would foster a trade between the Maritime Provinces and the Hudson's Bay, and give the east a cheap route to the markets of the North-West.

The chief value of this region is its agricultural capabilities, and the wealth that is now being produced from the soil will yearly attract a large number of people, who wish to throw off the restraints and confinements of the thickly populated countries in the old world and seek new fields for their labour.

As an evidence of the future of Manitoba, which is only a small portion of the North-West Territory, I might mention that the area which is at present settled, only upon the even-numbered sections, there are fifteen million acres. Half of this, or the odd-numbered sections, are held for sale and are still unsettled. Every acre of it, generally speaking, consists of the best agricultural land, all ready for the plough. The settled portion is not yet cultivated to one-tenth of its capacity for want of labour, capital and experience; and with the increase of population will come a large increase in the production and export of wheat. As an evidence of progress, the city of Brandon, which in 1881 was unknown and unlocated,

is now the largest farmers' delivery grain market in Canada. For dairy products, the capabilities of the country are unrivalled, and with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Manitoba and North-Western Railway, and the Manitoba and South-Western Railway, and other branch lines, every acre in the Province of Manitoba is now within reasonable distance of railway communication, the one thing needful to make agriculture successful.

The essentials for the comfort of the population in a northern clime are no longer a problem. I refer to fuel and light. The western portion of the North-West is one large bed of coal. Practical results have already been attained in the production of coal by the Galt mines, which have been opened, and a branch line of railway one hundred and ten miles long, on the narrow gauge principle, has this year been constructed to Lethbridge, where these mines are worked, and coal can now be distributed at a cheap rate to all parts reached by railway communication. Coal oil has also been discovered in large quantities in two places, and cheap light will soon follow. Iron is abundant in Lake Winnipeg, and in the Rocky Mountains, and extensive salt wells exist at the foot of Lake Winnipegoosis and elsewhere.

I have lived in the interior of this territory, far removed from railway communication, for the past six years with my family, and can bear willing testimony to

the great advantages of this country, for all those who desire to seek new homes for large and growing families: I can conscientiously assure those who have the ambition and hardihood to develop new homes for themselves, that it can be done at a less cost and with a greater certainty of success than in most countries that offer like inducements.

There is no doubt that in a northern clime the difficulties and hardships are for a time greater; but when a man's home is comfortable, and he is within easy distance of railway communication, his progress towards competency is sure. As an evidence of what this part of Canada can accomplish, the Eastern Provinces of the Dominion can be pointed to; those who in the early history of the country came and obtained free grants of land which were then available, their descendants are now among the most independent.

The progress of the Province of Manitoba has been very rapid since its acquisition by Canada. In addition to the Canadian Pacific Railway it has several lines of railway branching out into the interior, notably the Manitoba and North-Western, which is projected to run on the route originally surveyed by the Dominion Government to Prince Albert. This branches off in a north-westerly direction from Portage la Prairie, through a most fertile district, well watered, with large tracts of timber and a most productive soil. It has this year reached as far as the Bird Tail Creek, seven miles north of Birtle, and it

is expected next year to reach Shell Mouth, on the Assiniboine River, the north-western boundary of the Province of Manitoba. The whole district traversed by this railway is well settled on the even-numbered sections—the odd-numbered sections generally, throughout the country, being for sale at an average price of from three to five dollars per acre. I might here say to those people who turn their attention to this country, that if they have the means, it is better to settle within five or ten miles of a railway station, paying a moderate price for their lands, than to go a greater distance to obtain free grants. It might also be said, that it is even better to settle for a year upon a rented place before determining upon a permant location, and above all not to spend their money on purchases until they know their wants. I have known people come in, and before they have gone on to their land, expend a large portion of their means on agricultural machinery which would not be required for two or three years.

Shellmouth is situated on the Assiniboine River, and it is expected that it will occupy the same position on the Manitoba and North-Western Railway, when it is constructed, that the city of Brandon occupies on the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway. It has the magnificent water-powers of the Shell River, which are being developed at Asessippi, in the neighbourhood The celebrated farm belonging to the Scottish Ontario and Manitoba Land Company is not far distant, and

the Wolverine Farming Company has also selected this neighbourhood on account of the luxuriant vegetation. The village of Russell, not far distant, is the centre of a fine agricultural district. Good schools are established. Clergymen of the various denominations hold regular services every Sunday throughout the country, and the foundation is laid for one of the most prosperous communities that can anywhere be met with.

This district is not singular in the country, but is a fair sample of what may be found in any part of the Province of Manitoba. Being my own neighbourhood, I have more particularly mentioned it as a most desirable place for intending emigrants to reach.

The difficulties which have to be overcome by pioneer settlers are greater than those experienced by others who come after; but the advantages gained by coming early, are, that they get free land, or by purchase at a low price, and they gain the experience which is absolutely necessary to the progress of individuals in new districts, where much has to be unlearned, and much new acquired. In the early settlement of a new country the competition people are subject to is not so keen as in older countries; but those who have families to bring up, with the experience necessary for their advancement, and those who make up their minds to emigrate, must leave the luxuries and refinements of the Old World very largely behind; though the charms of freedom of life, which is offered to the new-comer on the boundless prairie, com-

pensates very largely for the loss of them. I have found that this is the experience of most of those who come here. For myself, after roaming round the world for many years, I have cast anchor at last in the Province of Manitoba, and have nothing to regret in the choice I have made. In making these observations on the social and political life of the Canadian people, I do so that I may give some honest, trustworthy information to those who desire to move to some part of England's great Colonial Empire, to assist in making her greater, and to aid in preserving the natural ties of national kinship which I trust may never be broken.

I have now to bring to a close my narrative of these momentous events which concerned the welfare of Canada, and, in concluding, I would recall the words of Lord Dufferin, who realized from his intimate study of the Canadian people, their hopes, aspirations and realities, and expressed them in the following words:—

"In a world apart, secluded from all extraneous influences, nestling at the feet of her majestic mother, Canada dreams her dream and forebodes her destiny—a dream of ever-broadening harvests, multiplying towns and villages, and expanding pastures; of constitutional self-government and a confederated empire; of page after page of honourable history, added as her contribution to the annals of the mother country, and to the glories of the British race; of a perpetuation for all time upon this continent of that temperate and well-balanced system of government which combines in one mighty whole, as the eternal possession of all Englishmen, the brilliant history and traditions of the past with the present and most untrammelled liberty of action in the future."

APPENDIX.

OFFICIAL DESPATCHES.

(*Extract from* THE CANADA GAZETTE *of Saturday, 11th July*, 1885.)

NORTH-WEST FIELD FORCE.

HEAD QUARTERS, FISH CREEK, May 1, 1885.

SIR,—I have the honour to state for the information of His Excellency the Governor-General and yourself, the following particulars of the engagement between my forces and that of the rebels, on the 24th of April last, which I have been unable to do before, except by telegraph, owing to having so much to do in reconnoitring, getting up supplies and making arrangements for the movement of the troops in the other parts of the North-West Territory.

I had previously informed you of the division of my forces, and on the morning of the 23rd both columns advanced on the two sides of the river, with the scow moving down between them. We halted about eighteen miles down the river, my column near the farm of a settler named McIntosh, the other in a line with us on the other side. After a quiet night we started on the morning of the 24th at about seven a.m., with the usual military precaution.

Mounted Infantry scouts spread out well in front, with support of Mounted Infantry under Major Boulton about two hundred yards in rear. An advanced guard of the 90th Battalion about three hundred yards in rear of that, and the main column about two to three hundred yards in rear of the advanced guard.

Though I had not been led to believe that the rebels would not come so far to the front to attack us, still I was aware of the existence of a rather deep ravine or creek about five or six miles ahead, consequently I was on this occasion, with the support under Major Boulton, accompanied by Captain Haig, R.E., A.Q.M.G., and my two Aides-de-camp, Captain Wise and Lieutenant Doucet, and Mr. McDowell attached to my staff. On approaching some bluffs, just as the left advanced scouts were circling round, we suddenly received a heavy fire from a bluff and some ground sloping back on our left, which fire was luckily too high to do mischief, having been evidently fired in a hurry owing to the approach of the left scouts. Major Boulton instantly ordered his men to dismount, let loose their horses (two of which were immediately shot) and hold the enemy in check. This was done by them most gallantly—the flankers and

files in front falling back on the main body. I sent Captain Wise back with orders to bring the advanced guard and main body, which was soon done, though in going with the order Captain Wise's horse was hit by a shot from the bluffs on the left. The advanced guard on arrival extended and took cover in the bluffs nearest us, and as the main body came up, two more companies of the 90th were extended, the rebels advancing up out of the ravine into which, however, they again speedily retired and a heavy fire was exchanged, but having sent a party round to a house on the enemy's right, the enemy gradually retired along the ravine while our men advanced slowly to the crest of a deeply wooded part running out of the main ravine. In this former ravine a small party of the rebels made a tand, in what we found afterwards to be some carefully constructed rifle-pits. These men were evidently their best shots—Gabriel Dumont being amongst them, but were so to speak caught in a trap. A great number of their horses and ponies being in this ravine, and, what is said to be very unusual, were tied up—thus showing, I am informed, that the rebels were pretty confident of success—fifty-five of these horses were killed. These men were gradually reduced in number until from the position of our men it was almost impossible for them to retire, and they continued to fire at intervals, doing a good deal of mischief. Captain Peters with great pluck and dash led the dismounted men of "A" Battery, supported by a party of the 90th under Captain Ruttan, and gallantly attempted to dislodge them, but they were so well covered and were able to bring such a heavy fire on the party advancing without being seen, killing three men, two artillerymen and one of the 90th (the body of one artilleryman was afterwards found within eight or ten yards of their pits) that I resolved to leave them, contenting myself with extending more of the 90th in front to watch them and sending some shells into the bluff now and then. Lieutenant-Colonel Houghton, my D.A.G., in taking orders got mixed with this party and advanced with them, showing great pluck and coolness. I would here beg to notice the pluck and coolness displayed by other officers (especially Captain Drury) and men of "A" Battery in running their guns up by hand to the edge of the ravine and the opposite gully afterwards, three of the men being wounded. In the meanwhile, having seen the part of the 90th extended as above mentioned, I galloped across to the right, having previously sent my two Aides-de-camp there with orders to get "C" half company and two companies of the 90th extended. On arrival there I found that the enemy was in force trying to turn our right, having set fire to the prairie as the wind was blowing towards us. About this period Captain Drury of "A" Battery threw a shell into a house, some distance off where some rebels were seen congregating, and set it on fire. The rebels at this time advanced under cover of the smoke

out of the ravine which extended across our front, and the firing was tremendously hot, my Aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Doucet, and several men being hit. Our men were forced back here a little at first, but soon rallied and advanced steadily, holding their own and taking cover well, until using the enemy's own tactics we fairly drove them back, bluff by bluff and they retired all together going off as hard as they could. I may mention here that their attempt to drive us back by setting fire to the prairie proved a failure, though at one time it looked awkward, but I sent for a party of teamsters who soon beat it out, notwithstanding they were for a short time under fire.

By about two p.m., the enemy had disappeared and all firing ceased except from the men in the ravine who seemed by their voices to be reduced in number, and whom I endeavoured to reach by means of the guns from the opposite side of the ravine, I think successfully, from the amount of blood found afterwards in the pits and a dead Sioux found near there. To return to the action of the left flank—on recrossing to them I received a bullet through my fur cap from one of the men in the rifle-pits, who had made several attempts to hit me before, and whom I have reason to believe was Gabriel Dumont himself, and who a few minutes after, being obliged to recross with my Aide-de-camp, Captain Wise, shot from the same place his horse and threw him. Shortly after, I am sorry to say, while looking over the brow of the ravine to see if the enemy were still there, Captain Wise received a shot in the foot. I found the firing reduced to the men in the ravine, the rest of the enemy having retired in confusion.

During the action a messenger from the left column arrived asking if they should bring troops across, and I directed the 10th Grenadiers to be brought over, which was done by means of the scow most expeditiously, one company with Lord Melgund arriving about one o'clock p.m., and two other companies under Lieutenant-Colonel Grasett, later on, with two guns of the Winnipeg Field Battery, under Major Jarvis. As the affair was nearly over then, I contented myself with extending a company of the 10th on the right centre to assist in watching the ravine where the enemy's rifle-pits were, the other companies being on the extreme right in support and ultimately remaining there until the wounded were removed to the camp ground which had been selected in the meantime. I would here beg leave to draw particular attention to the crossing of these troops, who, though luckily not required, might well have been. To fully appreciate the rapidity with which this was done, in spite of the difficulties that existed the river must be seen ; wooded heights on each side one hundred feet high—at bottom, large boulders encrusted in thick sticky mud—a fringe of huge blocks of ice on each side, a wretched scow carrying about sixty men at most, pulled with oars

made with an axe, and a rapid current of about three or four miles an hour were the obstacles that were surmounted by dint of determination and anxiety to join with and aid their comrades.

Meanwhile a sort of zareba had been formed by Mr. Bedson and Mr. Secretan of a few waggons, where the doctors formed their temporary hospital and carried out their functions skilfully, coolly and quietly under the able superintendance of Brigade-Surgeon Orton, 90th Battalion. A little later finding the firing had ceased, and the enemy fled except the two or three whom I left there for the reason above mentioned, and as a thunder storm was coming up—having removed the dead, and sent off the wounded, we pitched camp amidst a severe thunder storm in an open spot close to the scene of the fight, which had been selected by Lord Melgund as above-mentioned. I append an official list of killed and wounded, which I regret is so large, but which is not larger than might be expected considering the circumstances under which we were attacked, and the fact that not a man in the force but myself had ever before been under fire. Moreover I had only about three hundred and fifty men in action, and I estimate the enemy at about three hundred—as regards their loss, all we actually found on the field, was three dead Indians, but I am confident they must have sustained a tolerably severe loss as they would not have abandoned so strong a position, and one, from the amount of food we found in the different houses they evidently expected to occupy for some time. Moreover after crossing the creek, the trail was so situated as regards numerous bluffs, running at right angles to it, that they could have impeded my advance with a very few men. I am afraid I shall have to stay some days in my present camp, until I can send my wounded to the rear. All my troops, officers and men behaved well, and my thanks are due to all of them and to their several commanders; but I beg to mention by name those officers who came especially under my personal notice, and to whom my great thanks are due, viz.: Captain Haig, R.E., my A.Q.M.G. My two Aides-de-camp, Captain Wise and Lieutenant Doucet, who gave me great help and assistance. Major Smith, "C" Company, I. S. Corps. Major Boswell and Captain Buchan, of the 90th Battalion, who were of great help to me in holding the right and eventually forcing back the enemy under a very heavy fire. Major Boswell was hit in the heel of his boot, and Captain Buchan's horse received a shot. Major Boulton's coolness and firmness in checking the enemy at the commencement of the engagement, was remarkable and deserves great praise. Messrs. Bedson and Secretan also were of great assistance in forming a zareba of waggons round the place selected by the medical men for their temporary hospital which was almost under fire of the enemy. My thanks are also due to Brigade-Surgeon Orton, 90th Battalion, for the excellent arrangement made by him for attending to the wounded, and remov-

ing them to our new camp. The men employed as ambulance men also performed their duty well, not hesitating to bring away the wounded under fire. I cannot conclude without mentioning a little bugler of the 90th Regiment named William Buchanan, who made himself particularly useful in carrying ammunition to the right front when the fire was very hot ; this he did with peculiar nonchalance, walking calmly about, crying : "Now, boys, who's for cartridges ?"

And also herewith a rough sketch of the scene of the action drawn by my A.Q.M.G, Captain Haig, R.E.

(Signed) FRED. MIDDLETON,
Major General,
Commanding Canadian Militia and N. W. Field Force.

P.S.—May 13th. I find from papers captured at Batoche yesterday, that the number of the rebels at Fish Creek was two hundred and eighty under Gabriel Dumont, that they had intended to let me enter the ravine or crest and then destroy us, taking me prisoner and holding me as a hostage to assist them in making terms with the Government at Ottawa. Their scheme was defeated by my having my scouts so far in advance, which obliged them to fire on them, and thus disclose their position. I also find now that the rebels had eleven killed or died of wounds, and eighteen wounded at Fish Creek. (Signed) FRED. MIDDLETON.

NORTH-WEST FIELD FORCE,
BATOCHE, May 31, 1885.

SIR,—I have the honour to give you the particulars of the fighting on the 9th, 10th, 11th and the action on the 12th at Batoche, for the information of His Excellency Lord Lansdowne, Governor General of the Dominion of Canada, and yourself. As you are aware I left my camp at Fish Creek on the morning of the 7th, having brought my left column across the river to join my right column, and having been joined by Leut.-Col. Williams, commanding the Midland regiment, with two companies of that corps, and a gatling gun with Captain Howard, late U. S. Army. My force was then composed of :—

"A" Battery, 2 guns, 86 officers and men.
Winnipeg ½ Battery, 2 guns, 40 officers and men.
One gatling gun.

10th Royal Grenadiers,	210	"
90th Regiment,	254	"
Detachment Midland Reg't	81	"
Boulton's Mounted Infantry,	65	"
French's Scouts,	28	"
Total,	724	

The infantry I formed into a brigade and placed it under Lieut.-Col. Straubenzie, who had joined me at the same time as Lieut.-Col. Williams and the two companies of the Midland Battalion. I had also caused my A. Q. M. G., Captain Haig, R.E., to put the steamer "Northcote" (which had come down with stores to my camp) in a state of defence, by means of lumber, bags of oats, etc., and having placed half "C" Company Infantry School on board her under command of Major Smith, I directed her to drop down the river and anchor for the night at Gabriel's Ferry, communicate with me there and to drop down next day, so as to be abreast of Batoche about nine o'clock a.m., by which time I calculated I should be ready to commence my attack, and they were then to create what diversion they could in our favour, if possible to break the wire of the Batoche Ferry, and if they found they could not steam back, they were to continue on to the Hudson's Bay Crossing, south of Prince Albert. What was actually done by the steamer, you will find described in the report of Major Smith, "C" Company Infantry School, forwarded herewith. I may add that besides the half "C" Company, Captain Wise, my Aide-de-camp, whose wound would not allow of his accompanying the force, Lieutenant H. J. Macdonald of the 90th, who was ill, and Lieutenants Gibson and Elliott of the 10th Royal Grenadiers, suffering from rheumatism, with Dr. Moore and Mr. Pringle of the Medical Staff, Mr. Bedson, my chief transport officer, his clerk Vinen, and four scowmen, were also on board, some of whom as will be seen by Major Smith's report performed valuable service.

On the morning of the 8th, having heard that the trail along the river to Batoche was not good, and had some dangerous places on it, I marched out to the eastward and then to the north-west, and struck the regular trail from Humboldt to Batoche about nine miles from Batoche, and camped there for the night. As soon as I had selected the spot for the camp, I pushed on with some of Boulton's Mounted Infantry to within four miles of Batoche, without meeting any resistance, merely seeing two of the enemy's scouts, which fled on our approach, and I then selected a good spot to camp in the next day, in case I found it necessary to fall back from Batoche. On the morning of the 9th I left my camp standing, and advanced on Batoche. We arrived without hindrance to a spot within about half a mile of the new Catholic Church, just where the trail strikes the river bank, before turning down to Batoche. There were three houses between us and the church where a number of men were seen, who fled on two or three shells and some rounds from the gatling being fired at them, and we advanced slowly towards the church. From a house just the other side of the church a white flag was being displayed, and I rode up to it, and found three or four Catholic priests in it with some sisters, and a number of women

and children, apparently half-breeds. Having reassured them I advanced cautiously, extending my infantry and pushing back the enemy until we reached the crest of a hill, which enabled me to bring the guns down, and shell the houses of Batoche, which were visible from a spot just below the crest. As the houses were of a light construction, and not very large, not much damage was done, and just then as some shots came from across the river from a bluff along the bank and as the spot the guns were in was completely exposed to this fire, I directed the guns to retire, and as they were doing so suddenly a very heavy fire was opened from what we afterwards found were some rifle-pits in a bluff just below where the guns had been, but which was stopped by a rattling fire from the gatling which was splendidly handled by Captain Howard, ably supported by Lieutenant Rivers, "A" Battery. After some time, finding that the fire of the opposite side was again commencing and also from the rifle pits, and that a horse had been killed and a man hit belonging to the gatling, I directed Captain Howard to bring his gatling back, which he did without further loss, and the wounded man was brought in at great risks by my Aide-de-camp, Captain Freer, "B" Company Infantry School, and Gunner Coyne of "A" Battery. I then went off to the right of my extended line behind the church, and found the men holding their ground but exposed to a fire from a bluff with a newly-made grave in front of it railed in with wood. I then ordered the gatling round to try and silence their fire, which it did at first, owing probably to the novelty of this weapon, as regards the enemy, but shortly afterwards the enemy's fire was renewed, and we afterwards found that they were firing from carefully constructed rifle-pits, which completely covered them from any fire. During this time Captain Peters, "A" Battery, had endeavoured to drive the enemy out of the pits from whence had come the fire which caused me to retire the guns, with a portion of the Garrison Artillery of "A" Battery School, but the fire was too hot and they had to retire, leaving a wounded man behind. On my returning to that part of the attack and hearing of this I advanced a part of the Midland Battalion down a coulee or bluff on the left between the cemetery and the church, with orders to keep up a hot fire, so as to distract the attention of the enemy from the spot where the wounded man was lying, and also directed a part of the 90th and 10th who were lying down in advance across the trail, to do the same, and sent down a party of the Garrison Artillery with a stretcher to bring the man back, which they did without hesitation, and to my great satisfaction they succeeded in bringing him back without losing another man, which was what I feared, but unfortunately the man himself was dead. Our dead and wounded were temporarily placed in the church, where they were attended to by the medical men, assisted by the Roman Catholic

sisters, who kindly did all they could to help the doctors. As it was now becoming late and I saw that though holding our own we were not likely to make any advance that day, it became necessary for me to decide as to where I should camp for the night, and taking into consideration the enormous importance at that time of not even appearing to retreat even so short a distance as to where I had selected a spot for my camp, I resolved to send for my tents and baggage, and camp where I was though there was no good place for it. I accordingly sent back for that purpose my second senior transport officer Mr. Secretan, who succeeded in bringing all my old camp equipage and teams, in a remarkably short time, and having formed a zareba with them, I then ordered the advanced parties to be gradually withdrawn, which was done very creditably, as some of the enemy followed them up, probably thinking at first that they were retreating. They were, however, speedily undeceived by receiving a heavy fire from the zareba, and though a few of them kept up a desultory fire for a short time, as darkness fell they retired, but not before, I am sorry to say, killing two of our horses and wounding one man in the zareba. The piquets were then posted, a slight trench made round the zareba and the rest of the men lay down with their arms lining the four sides of the zareba, each side being under the charge of a field officer with so many sentries on each face who kept watch whilst the others slept, and so the night passed in quiet. The casualties this day were as follows: —Two men killed, one officer and nine men wounded.

May 10.—After an early breakfast I moved out the infantry, and took up position as advanced as possible, but the enemy were in greater force than the day before, principally as I expect on account of the steamer having passed down the river, and held the ground about the cemetery and also some pits which they had made during the night, just below the crest, where the gatling had been in position the day before. Some of the enemy also had got into position at the end of a point running out below the cemetery, and altogether we had lost rather than gained ground as compared with yesterday. I still felt it was good practice and training for a few men who were being taught by somewhat painful experience, the necessity of using their enemy's tactics, and keeping themselves under cover. Moreover, I knew that we could afford the ammunition which (in a sort of skirmishing fight like this) was wasted on both sides, better than our adversaries, besides giving confidence to my young soldiers, some of whom, the Midland detachment, had as yet not received their baptism of fire. During the morning I had the two guns of "A" Battery shelling a house on the opposite bank and some bluffs where some of the enemy were seen, and in the afternoon the two guns of the Winnipeg Battery shelled the cemetery, which was in possession of the enemy, and some rifle-pits from a bluff on right

front of my camp. In the evening, as before, I withdrew my advanced parties, who were again followed by the enemy, but I had some shelter-trenches made in front of the camp, about two hundred yards in advance, in which I had a party of infantry, and on the right front some more pits nearly flanking the enemy's advance, in which I placed some men of the 90th, armed with the Martini-Henry. As the enemy approached they were received with a heavy fire from these trenches which quickly drove them back, and though one of the enemy fired apparently with a long range rifle into our camp, little damage was done, only one horse being touched, and his fire was speedily silenced from our camp, and again we had a quiet night. In retiring this evening the men were much steadier, and during the whole day we had one killed and five wounded, showing that the men were improving in their fighting. The weather being luckily fine as we were bivouacking, not liking to put up tents when so many horses were in the zareba.

MAY 10. — The Land Surveyors' Scouts, fifty strong, under Captain Dennis, joined my force in the afternoon.

MAY 11.—Having heard that there was a fine piece of prairie ground which overlooked the houses of Batoche and having sent our parties of infantry to take up the old positions, I started off to reconnoitre the prairie ground, taking with me Boulton's Mounted Infantry and the gatling. The trail to this ground went right through our camp, but as I thought it probable that the enemy might have some rifle-pits to defend it. I regret to say that as I was leaving camp, one of the priests, Father Moulin, was brought in on a stretcher, wounded in the left thigh by a Winchester bullet, fired from the cemetery by the rebels, through the garret of the priest's house; it was luckily a flesh wound, and he was put in a hospital tent, and will go down to Saskatoon with our wounded. I took a slight detour and came on to the prairie ground a little east of the trail. I found it was a good large plain of irregular shape about two miles long and one thousand yards in the broadest part, with a sort of slight ridge running down the centre and some undulations. We saw a good many men moving about on our left front, and fired two or three rounds from the gatling, at the same time lining the crest of the ridge with some of Boulton's men, which soon drew a pretty smart fire from the edge of the bluffs running parallel to the ridge, which we soon saw was defended by a series of rifle-pits. Leaving this party to hold the enemy, I galloped along the prairie to the northward with the men of the mounted infantry, and seeing two of the enemy's mounted scouts, gave chase, but they got off into the woods, and we lost sight of them. Having pulled up myself I was returning towards the other party, when I caught sight of a man coming out of a bluff on foot, and gave chase, and on coming up found it was an Indian without arms, who said he was

a priest's man, but who eventually turned out to be a rebel who had been fighting against us. After firing for some time at the pits, I retired the force in good order and regained the camp. Here we found that we had regained all our lost ground, owing to my feint on the enemy's left, which had drawn a good many of the enemy from their right to repel what they feared was a general attack, as owing to the lay of the ground the enemy could not see what my force was. Some of the Midland Battalion, led by Lieut.-Col. Williams, gallantly rushed some rifle-pits beyond the cemetery, and drove the Indians, who had been left on their right, out of them, capturing some blankets and a dummy which had been used to draw our fire. In the morning one gun of "A" Battery shelled the cemetery and pits near the church. In the afternoon I brought up two guns of the Winnipeg half Battery to a spot held by the Midland advanced party, near the cemetery, from whence they were able to see to shell a house on the opposite side of the river, which was flying Riel's white flag with some design on it, and about which a great many people were moving. The range was a long one and the material of the house so light that not much harm was done, but the people all dispersed at once, and seemed to take to the woods. During that afternoon some few shots were fired from the opposite bank, but the fire was kept under and silenced by a party of men posted on the ground overlooking the river on the left of the camp. In the evening my advanced parties were withdrawn to the camp as usual, but the enemy hardly pursued at all; there was no firing into our camp and our casualities of the day consisted of four wounded, all very slightly. This showed that my men were becoming more at home in this mode of warfare, and though as yet we had not made much progress, I resolved, to use a historical expression, "to peg away" until I succeeded in my object of taking Batoche, which I was sure I should do. During the day the men left behind to protect the camp and the teamsters added to the slight parapet and trenches already made, and made a traverse across the south side of the zareba, which would have effectually prevented any shot from doing mischief in the camp.

May 12.—This morning I took the whole of the mounted men in my force, about 150 men, one gun of "A" Battery and the gatling, and taking the same circuit as yesterday, took possession again of the piece of basin, and extending my force as much as possible and again engaged the rifle-pits in front of us, firing also shell and the gatling. In the middle of our firing I saw a man riding towards me waving a white flag. I rode forward to meet him and found that it was a Mr. Ashley, a surveyor, one of the men who had been made a prisoner by Mr. Riel. He told me he had just come from Riel, who was apparently in a great state of agitation, and handed me a letter from him in which he said, apparently

referring to our shelling the houses, that if I massacred his women and children they would massacre their prisoners. I at once wrote an answer saying that I was most anxious not to injure women and children, and that if he would place them all in one spot, and let me know where it was, I would take care that no shot should be fired in that direction. Just then another prisoner, a Mr. Jackson, came up on foot, with another white flag and a copy of the same letter above alluded to. He announced his intention of not returning, though I suggested to him that the other prisoners, among whom was his own brother, might be massacred if he did not return. However, he said they would not be touched for that, and that he was not going back, so I left him to his own devices. The other prisoner, Mr. Ashley, acted in a very different manner. He said he should go back, on the chance of being yet able to assist his brother prisoners. He told me that they were all kept in a dark cellar whenever anything unusual occurred, that they were all now confined in the cellar with a tremendous weight of stones on the trap door, and that he had been taken out with Jackson especially to bring this message. Accordingly he returned with my message and I then drew my force gradually off and retired to camp in good order, having as I afterwards found out convinced the enemy that I intended attacking by that way. I regret to say, however, that one of the Surveyors' Scouts was killed, having been shot through the head while lying with the rest of his troop in a bluff on our left. On regaining the camp I was much annoyed at finding that owing to a misconception of my orders the advanced parties had not, as I directed, been sent forward to hold the regained position and press forward, as I drew the enemy from their right by my feint; but I am now inclined to think that it was a fortunate thing that they had not, for I believe that the total silence and absence of fire from my left only strengthened the belief of the enemy that I was going to attack from the prairie ground. After the men had had their dinners they were moved down to take up the old positions and press on. Two companies of the Midland, sixty men in all, under Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, were extended on the left and moved up to the cemetery, and the Grenadiers, two hundred strong, under Lieutenant-Colonel Grasett, prolonged the line to the right beyond the church, the 90th being in support. The Midland and Grenadiers, led by Lieutenant-Colonels Williams and Grasett, the whole led by Lieutenant-Colonel Straubenzie in command of the Brigade, then dashed forward with a cheer and drove the enemy out of the pits in front of the cemetery and the ravine to the right of it, thus clearing the angle at the turn of the river. During all this time a heavy fire was kept up from the other side of the river, which annoyed our advance. This was kept down as we best could by a few of the Midland Regiment in pits on the bank of the river, and

one company of the 90th Regiment was sent to support Lieutenant-Colonel Williams on the extreme left. The Midland Regiment and Grenadiers kept pushing on, gallantly led by Colonels Straubenzie, Williams, and Grasett, until they held the edge of the bluffs surrounding the left part of the plain, where the houses were. Just before this a most promising young officer, Lieutenant Fitch of the Grenadiers, was killed. At this period one of the Winnipeg Battery guns was got into position where it could shell the houses on the plain, but after two or three rounds it was disabled and a gun from "A" Battery took its place and fired a few rounds, but not much damage was done, as the houses were not brick or stone. During this time I advanced the 90th so as to prolong the line of attack, and eventually brought down the Surveyors' Scouts, Boulton's Mounted Infantry and French's Scouts, and dismounting, still further prolonged the line on the right. The gatling was now ordered up in front of the 90th to take the houses in flank, which was gallantly done by Lieutenant Rivers, "A" Battery, and Captain Howard, and after a few volleys a general advance was made, with rattling cheers, and the whole of the houses were taken, the prisoners released and the position virtually captured. It was at this period that the late lamented Captain French was killed by a shot from the ravine, while looking out of the window at Batoche's House. This officer's loss was keenly felt and mourned by the whole force. He had been with the force from the commencement, and he was always ready for the front, and his cheerfulness and good humour were proverbial and had a cheerful effect on the whole camp. I had already brought Captain French's name to your notice in terms of strong commendation. A company of the Grenadiers was sent along the river on our left up to the house of the rebel Champagne, and a company of the 90th was sent well forward on the right, as a few desultory shots were fired from a ravine there, and by evening all firing ceased and I sent up to the camp for the men's blankets and food, and we bivouacked for the night around the buildings. We found a large camp of women and children natives and half-breeds on the bank of the river below Batoche's House, and a good many camped around our bivouac for the night, some remaining where they were. On inspecting the scene of action after it was over, I was astonished at the strength of the position and at the ingenuity and care displayed in the construction of the rifle-pits, a good idea of which can be gained by reference to one of the sketches by Captain Haig, R.E., A.Q.M.G., forwarded herewith. In and around these pits were found blankets, trousers, coats, shirts, boots, shoes, food, oil, Indian articles of sleep, one or two damaged shot-guns and one good rifle. It was evident that a detachment of rebels had lived in these pits, day and night, and it was easily understood, by an inspection of them, how

perfectly safe the holders of these pits were from the fire of our rifles, and especially from the gatling and artillery. These pits were also judiciously placed as regards repelling a front attack, but by attacking their right (which was their weakest point) and driving it in, we turned and took in reverse all their entrenchments along the edge of the prairie ground, and, thus caused a rout which ended in a "sauve qui peut." As it was getting dark, and my men were tired out, I did not attempt to pursue. We found twenty-one of the rebels dead on the ground in the vicinity of the houses, and two dead men on the river bank below the cemetery. Also five wounded, of whom two were belonging to Riel's council, two of whom were also amongst the killed. I regret to say that, as far as I can learn, Riel and Dumont have escaped, having gone off together on our gaining the clear ground of the settlement, but I shall follow them up as soon as I learn the direction they have taken, which at present is a matter of doubt, some saying they have crossed the river and others that they have not. I myself am inclined to think they have not crossed.

MAY 13.—The half-breeds were continually coming in with white flags to give themselves and their arms up, some by themselves and some with the priests. I have a list of the worst of the rebels, and I dismiss those not in it, with a caution to return to their houses, and a warning that if hereafter any charge is brought against them, they are liable to be arrested. I have now thirteen prisoners, two of them being members of Riel's council. I may remark here that among Riel's prisoners released by us was a half-breed who looked like a white man, by name of Albert Monkman. He stated that he had been made prisoner by Riel, because he suspected he was getting disaffected, which he said was the case. But I received evidence which so clearly showed that this man was deeply committed to the rebellion, and that his change of idea originated most probably from discovering that he was on the wrong side, that I arrested him also. Heard this afternoon that Riel and Dumont were on this side of the river. The catholic priest reported this morning the following loss of the rebels in the four days' fighting :—

1st day—Four killed and five wounded. 2nd day—Two wounded. 3rd day—Three wounded. 4th day—Forty-seven killed, one hundred and sixty-three wounded. Total—Fifty-one killed and one hundred and seventy-three wounded.

MAY 14.—Marched for Lepine's Crossing. Having halted for dinner, I received information that Riel was somewhere in the vicinity, so determined to make for Guardaput or Short's Crossing, which was some miles nearer, and camp for the night.

MAY 15.—I sent out parties of mounted men under Major Boulton to scour the woods. In the afternoon two scouts, Armstrong and Hourie, who had been sent out with Boulton and had moved away

by themselves, came upon Riel, who gave himself up, producing my letter to him in which I summoned him to surrender and promised to protect him until his case was considered by the Canadian Government. The scouts brought him into my camp and I made a prisoner of him as you are aware. Before bringing to your notice the conduct of the whole force, and the names of those officers whose duties during those four days on account of their rank or appointments necessarily brought them more prominently under my personal notice, I would here beg to be allowed in justice to the gallant little force under my command to draw attention to its actual strength and weapons, about which there seems to be some strange misconception, not only in the English press but even in that of the Dominion. In one of the English papers, I am represented as having been waiting at Fish Creek for reinforcement, of having asked for fifteen hundred more men, and as having been reinforced by the Midland Regiment, and as having fought with one thousand men and arms superior to the enemy. The real facts of the case being as follows: I was waiting at Fish Creek, as you know, to get rid of my wounded, and get oats up, and not for reinforcements. Only one hundred men of the Midland Regiment reached me, then under Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, and as I had lost killed and wounded nearly sixty men, and had to put thirty-five men on board the "Northcote," my actual reinforcement was five men. As regards the actual number of men engaged out of my total force of seven hundred and twenty-four officers and men, owing to having to leave one hundred men to protect my camp, leaving wounded and sick men, cooks, ammunition carriers, assistants to ambulances, etc., I was only able to bring four hundred and ninety-five men into the engagement, and this included the artillery and gatling, which, owing to the nature of the position, were not able to do so much damage as the infantry. So that with about four hundred men we drove with heavy loss a force of (taking the lowest estimation) six hundred half-breeds and Indians, many of them armed with long-range rifles, and who were considered the finest and best prairie fighters in the country, out of a strong position carefully selected and entrenched by themselves. After this I need say no more concerning the conduct, during the engagement, of the whole force. From my second in command, Lieutenant-Colonel Straubenzie, I received every assistance, and on the 12th his leading of his brigade was beyond praise. Lieutenant-Colonel Houghton, D.A.C., showed great coolness under fire and was in command of the zareba during the action of the 12th. Captain Haig, R.E., my A.Q.M.G., was very useful to me, and cool under fire; he is a most energetic and willing officer and has been of much service to me all along, especially in rendering the zareba safe from the enemy's dropping fire, and all other work requiring an engineer's knowledge.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Melgund, who was my chief of the staff for some time, was also of great service while with me on the 9th.

Captain Young, of the Winnipeg Field Battery, Brigade Major, has done most excellent service throughout the campaign, and is deserving of great praise for the way in which he performed his staff duties. I selected him to take charge of Riel from the time he surrendered, and while he was in camp Captain Young slept in the tent with him, and afterwards conveyed him safely to Regina. My A.D.C., Lieutenant Freer, 38th Regiment, "B" Company School of Infantry Instruction, deserves great praise for the way in which he performed his duties while continually exposed to the fire of the enemy. I have already brought to your notice the gallant way in which he went to assist in withdrawing the wounded man under the fire of the enemy. The conduct of Lieutenant-Colonels Montizambert, commanding Artillery; Williams, commanding Midland Regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel Grasett, commanding Grenadiers, and Major McKeand, commanding 90th Regiment, was everything I could wish. Lieutenant-Colonel Williams and Lieutenant-Colonel Grasett came prominently to my notice from the gallant way in which they led and cheered their men on the left, rush by rush, until they gained the houses on the plain, the former having commenced the rush. The field officers of the different Infantry Regiments, Majors Smith and Hughes, Midland; Major Dawson, Grenadiers; and Major Boswell and acting Major and Adjutant Buchan, 90th Regiment, are equally to be commended for their behaviour on this and the other days. Major Smith, "C" Company Infantry School Corps, was doing excellent work on board the "Northcote" under very trying circumstances, ably assisted by my other A.D.C. in spite of his wound, and Mr. Bedson, as will be seen by Major Smith's report. Major Jarvis, commanding Winnipeg Field Battery, and Captain Drury, "A" Battery, two guns, did excellent service during the four days' work, as well as the gatling under Lieutenant Rivers, "A" Battery, in fighting which arm Captain Howard, late United States Army, the instructor in the use of the weapon, showed great gallantry and cool courage. Captain Peters as usual was well to the front, covering the guns with the dismounted portion of "A" Battery. Lieutenant Disbrowe, attached to "A" Battery, whom I placed in charge of the ammunition from the commencement of the march, was particularly useful and deserves great praise. Major Boulton, commanding the Mounted Infantry, who is an excellent officer full of resources, and who has been of the greatest service to me from the time he joined my force, displayed his usual coolness and courage, and on the 12th was of great use on the right by the way he disposed and led his men. Captain Dennis, commanding the Surveyors' Scouts, did excellent service and deserves great praise for the way in which he handled his men. Captain French,

commanding Scouts, whose loss we deeply deplore, displayed his usual dash and courage. Great praise is due to Brigade-Surgeon Orton and his subordinates for the excellent way in which the attendance and care of the wounded men was carried out.

Thanks are also due to the Rev. D. M. Gordon of the Presbyterian Church, who joined the 90th at Fish Creek Camp, and was with them during the fighting at Batoche, and the Rev. C. C. Whitcombe, Church of England, who joined the Grenadiers on the 16th of May, for their attention to the spiritual wants of the wounded and the rest of the troops. I forward herewith sketches of the position by Captain Haig, R.E., my A.Q.M.G.,

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) FRED. MIDDLETON,
Major General,
Commanding N.W. Field Force.

BATTLEFORD, May 26, 1885.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward herewith for the information of His Excellency the Governor General and yourself, Lieutenant-Colonel Otter's despatch, concerning his engagement with the Chief Poundmaker and his band on the 2nd of May last. Though Lieutenant-Colonel Otter made this attack under a misunderstanding of my orders on the subject, he and his men seem to have done their duty well, and are deserving of great praise, and had the force been larger the consequence might have been more decided.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) FRED MIDDLETON,
Major-General,
Commanding Canadian Militia and Forces in the Field, N.W. Territory.

From Lieut.-Col. Otter, Commanding Battleford Column, N.W.F.F., to Major-General Middleton, Commanding Militia of Canada.

SIR,—I have the honour to report that having learned on the 29th ult., from my scouts, that a force of Cree and Stony Indians, numbering about two hundred men, were camped near the reserve of the former tribe some thirty-eight miles from here, and subsequently that Poundmaker, the Cree Chief, was hesitating between peace and war, the latter eventuality depending upon his being able to obtain assistance from Big Bear's tribe, I felt it necessary that

definite action should be taken in order to make Poundmaker declare himself and prevent a junction of the forces of the two chiefs.

I determined on a reconnaissance in force, and left Battleford on Friday, the 1st inst., at 3 p.m., with the following troops, viz.:—

75 Mounted Police, of whom fifty were mounted, Captain Neale.
80 "B" Battery R. C. A., Major Short.
45 "C" Company I. S. C., Lieutenant Wadmore.
20 G. G. Foot Guards, Lieutenant Gray.
60 Queen's Own Rifles, Captain Brown, including the Ambulance Corps of same regiment.
45 Battleford Rifles, Captain Nash.

One gatling gun and two seven-pounders belonging to police, the latter being selected as more easy of transport than the nine-pound guns, and a train of 48 waggons to carry men, rations and stores.

Halting at 8 p.m., I waited nearly four hours until the moon rose, and then pushed on through the night, reaching at day break the enemy's camp which was seen on the higher of two hills partially surrounded by a wide ravine, with a large creek running through it. Crossing the creek, our advanced guard the scouts and police were almost at the top of the lower hill before our presence was discovered, and the general alarm sounded; hardly had our scouts gained the crest of the hill when the advanced part of the enemy was met, who opened fire upon our men with vigour—the police immediately extended on the brow, and the guns, supported by "B" Battery, were pushed forward into the same line, opening fire with shrapnel on the camp. The Indians, who had evidently been taken by surprise, very quickly gathered themselves together and attempted to surround us; so large was their force that it required the whole of ours to be placed in the fighting line to meet the attack. Taking advantage of the cover afforded by the many small coulees and ravines surrounding our position, a most vicious and determined cross fire was poured in upon our men, which at first proved most destructive, owing to carelessness in exposing themselves. Soon, however, we followed the example of our foes and made the most of any cover that was obtainable, and in point of accurate shooting quickly demonstrated our ability to cope with them.

The disposition of our force was as follows: In the centre of the front line and just behind the brow of the hill was the gatling flanked on either side by a seven-pounder brass gun, all under the personal supervision of Major Short, ably assisted by Captain Rutherford. The support of these guns consisted of the Garrison division of "B" Battery; immediately to the rear, resting in a slight declivity, were the horses of the police and the waggon train; these were so well placed by Captain Neale that only two casualties

occurred through the day, viz., the loss of two horses, one of the waggon train and Captain Rutherford's charger. On either flank of the artillery were the police; to the right and right rear was "C" Company and detachment of guards; to the left, lying on a lower ledge of the hill and extending nearly to the creek was the Queen's Own, and protecting the right rear and ford was the company of Battleford Rifles. The positions thus described were, with some slight changes, retained by these corps more or less throughout the action.

Shortly after the fight became general, a rush was made by the enemy for the gatling, but was sharply repulsed by a party from the police and artillery gallantly headed by Major Short, and four Indians were killed.

The trail of one of the guns now unfortunately gave way, rendering that valuable arm practically useless; excellent practice was, however, made by the other guns, assisted, whenever opportunity offered, by the gatling. The other gun shared a similar fate later in the day.

Our men had now fairly settled down to their work, and in the most cool, collected and praiseworthy manner went about forcing the enemy to abandon their numerous points of advantage and cover.

The right rear which took in the ford was menaced, and a part of the Battleford Rifles under Captain Nash, assisted by individual men of "C" Company Governor's Guards and Q. O. R., with Constable Ross (chief Scout) of the police, undertook to clear the coulee at that point; this they did most effectually, capturing four ponies whose riders were shot by them.

A similar duty had now to be performed on our left rear which was entrusted to parties of the Queen's Own and Battleford Rifles, and proved one of the sharpest brushes of the day. The enemy's fire here was, however, only partially subdued, as there remained a few men whom neither bullets nor shells seemed to reach, and who were only dislodged at the end of the day by sending Ross with his scouts by a long detour to the rear and flanking them.

At eleven o'clock, that is, six hours after the beginning of the engagement, our flank and rear were clear, but the position we occupied was not tenable over night, while both guns were practically useless through broken trails, and the wounded required proper attention. Further, the object of the reconnaissance had been accomplished, inasmuch as he had declared his intentions, but Big Bear, or at least his men, had effected a junction before my arrival, as the number of the enemy was fully five hundred fighting men including some fifty half-breeds.

I therefore concluded to withdraw and return at once to Battleford, in case a counter attack might be made on that place—placing the

Battleford Rifles on the opposite side with one of the maimed guns, the wagons, dead—save Private Osgoode, G.G.F. Guards, whose body had rolled into a deep ravine and could not be recovered—and wounded were taken safely over the creek, followed in turn by the various corps from their respective positions. A few of the enemy, on perceiving our withdrawal, followed to the edge of the ravine, but were quickly driven back by the gatling under Major Short, which brought up the rear, and two rounds from the seven-pounders with the Battleford Rifles, under Captain Rutherford, both of which rounds had to be fired with the gun bound up with rope and splints to keep it together. The crossing was effected without the slightest loss, and the enemy failed to follow, although, had they done so, much delay and loss of life might have been entailed upon us, as the country was favourable to them.

Too much praise cannot be given to the officers, non-commissioned officers and men engaged throughout the whole action, for their admirable coolness and gallantry. The circumstances were most trying to raw troops, who, without sleep or breakfast, found themselves opposed to a cunning and determined enemy thoroughly acquainted with the ground, adopting a new style of warfare, and in numbers nearly double.

Where all behaved so well it is difficult to select those deserving of special mention, but I should not be doing my duty did I not bring to your notice the names of a few whose conduct came under my especial observation.

Major Short, R.C.A., by his plucky charge already mentioned no doubt saved the gatling, and throughout the day proved himself the beau ideal of an officer; he seemed to bear a charmed life as he coolly stood in the front lines working his guns.

Sergeant-Major Wattom, N. W. M. Police, was another whose brilliant example and dogged courage gave confidence and steadiness to those within the sound of his voice.

Constable Ross, N. W. M. Police, our chief scout, was always ready to lead a dash or take his place in the skirmish line, in fact he seemed everywhere and at the proper time.

Lieutenant Brock, Q.O.R., most pluckily led the party to clear our left rear, and Sergeant McKell, Privates Acheson and Lloyd of the same corps, distinguished themselves by assisting the wounded to places of safety in the face of heavy fire, Private Lloyd himself being wounded in this duty.

The Ambulance Corps of the Queen's Own was particularly prominent in answering the numerous calls from the front for assistance, many times having to traverse ground that was raked by the enemy's fire.

Brigade Surgeon Strange, I.S.C., and Surgeon Lesslie, Q.O.R., rendered willing and valuable assistance to the wounded, both on

the field and in the temporary hospital that was established in the waggon laager.

To my personal staff, Lieutenant Sears, I. S. C., Brigade Major, and Captain Mutton, Q.O.R., Brigade Quarter-Master, I owe many thanks, for their boldness, promptness and assiduity in executing the orders given them.

In Lieutenant-Colonel Herchmer, N.W.M. Police, I had a most valuable assistant, and not only in the action of Saturday, but throughout our march from Swift Current to Battleford, he displayed the most sterling qualities of a soldier; while the men of his command have time and again proved themselves as invaluable to my force.

Attached I beg to hand you an official list of the dead and wounded, with the causes of their death and nature of wounds.

All the wounded are, I am glad to say, doing well at the time I write.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) W. D. OTTER, Lieutenant-Colonel,
Commanding Battleford Column.

BATOCHE, 13th May, 1885.

From Captain and Bt. Major Smith, commanding "C" Co., Infantry School Corps, to General Middleton, commanding Canadian Militia.

SIR,—I have the honour to report that in accordance with Field Force Order No. 1, of the 6th inst., I, on the 7th instant, proceeded with the detachment of "C" Company, Infantry School Corps, present under my command (two Officers and thirty-one N. C. O. and men) on board of the steamer "Northcote," and in the afternoon dropped down to Gabriel Dumont's crossing, where we anchored and remained till the morning of the 9th.

In addition to "C" Company, there were on board, Mr. Bedson, Chief Transport Officer; Captain Wise, A.D.C., wounded at Fish Creek; three sick Officers, viz.: Lieutenant Hugh J. Macdonald, of the 90th, and Lieutenants Elliott and Gibson of the Royal Grenadiers; Doctor Moore and Mr. Pringle, of the Medical Staff; several men of the supply and transport service, a newspaper correspondent, and several residents of the country, who, under protection of the troops, were returning to their homes. All these were pretty well armed, and were able to bring about fifty rifles into action. (Two large barges laden with supplies were in tow.) After embarking I found that the vessel had been partially prepared for defence, but not, as I considered, sufficiently; so the 8th was employed in adding to the defences by piling up sacks of oats, boxes of meat, &c.

Early on the morning of the 9th we prepared to move, and all on board were assigned to their positions. Mr. Bedson was in charge of the boat and supplies, and from him the master took his orders, and I took the general command of the troops on the main deck. The master was instructed to anchor a little above Batoche. He was aware that a wire cable was stretched across the river at that place, and he knew that there was a danger of its catching the boat, and he was warned to be on the lookout for it.

A little after 6 a.m. we moved down stream to a point about two miles above Batoche, when finding that we were likely to reach that place before the hour named by you, 8 a.m., we anchored, and at 7:40 again moved on, and immediately afterwards the boat was fired upon from both banks of the river. For a time we did not reply, but the rebel fire soon became hotter, and we commenced both independent and volley firing, and this we continued without intermission till some distance below Batoche, partly to keep down the opposing fire, and partly to lead the enemy to believe that our force was much larger than it really was. As we passed Batoche the fire was specially heavy, and I heard a crash as if a portion of the upper deck had been carried away. About two miles below that place the rebel fire slackened, and I ordered the "cease fire," and shortly afterwards we came to anchor. I then learned that the smoke stacks and the steam whistle had been swept down by the ferry cable, and were lying on the deck; that the master and the pilot, who had both been in the wheel-house, were in a state of great trepidation; and that Mr. Pringle, of the Medical Staff, and Vinen, a transport officer's assistant, had been wounded. Finding that we were so far down the river, I asked the master why he had not followed his instructions, when he explained that owing to the heavy fire he could not manage the boat, and got on the cable before he was aware of it. I then directed him to go up stream again, but he objected that that was impossible as, the smoke stacks being gone, there was danger of setting fire to the vessel, and besides, that it was unsafe for him to go into the pilot house. Steps were at once taken to repair this damage, and two short stacks, made from one, were got into place. That being done the next difficulty was the pilot house. The steersman positively refused to go into it. We then persuaded him to set his carpenter at it. Material was carried up, and the carpenter was on the house, at work, when several shots came from the west shore, one of which hit him in the ancle and imbedded itself in the foot, and we found that some of the enemy had crept along the west side of the river, and, under cover of the bank, fired on every man who showed himself on board. This put an end to the work, for, as the master told me, it was impossible again to induce his crew to come on deck. The steam whistle having been carried away, we were left without our means of signal-

ling to the troops on shore; the boat authorities would not undertake to replace it, so volunteers were called for, when Private Coombes of "C" Company and one of the boat hands volunteered to put it up, and this they did successfully under a fire from the banks, and without, I am glad to say, any injury to themselves. In the course of the afternoon Mr. Bedson learned that one of his men had acted as a river pilot, and that he would be willing to take the wheel. Accordingly we proposed to the master that this should be done; but we were again met with objections, and after some talk, we concluded that the proposed pilot would not be able to work satisfactorily with the engineer, so, after consultation with Mr. Bedson and Captain Wise, it was decided to remain in our present position all night, and await possible communication from you. Strong guards were then placed and every preparation made to meet any possible attack from the shore. During the night the enemy continued to fire on the boat from both banks, but we abstained from replying. On the following morning, Sunday, Mr. Bedson and I again urged the master to move. He still pleaded the weakness of the pilot house, but finally, with great reluctance, said that he would do so if we would make it bullet proof. Mr. Bedson then set his men to work; with the assistance of my men, material was got up, and in the course of the afternoon, the wheel-house was made satisfactory to the pilot. During all this time firing from the shore contined at intervals, but as our men worked from the inside, they were not seen, and were in danger only from chance bullets.

The question then was, shall we go up stream or down? We were anxious to go to Batoche. The master said that he could not with safety go up with the barges in tow, and that he was getting out of wood and must take on more before he could remain anywhere long. We then decided to run down to the Hudson's Bay Ferry, leave the barges there, take on wood and sufficient supplies for the column, and return at once to Batoche. About 6:30 p.m., under a fire from the shore, we weighed anchor and proceeded down the river a few miles, and at dusk anchored for the night. At day light next morning we again moved, but had little more than started when we ran on a sand bar and were delayed some three hours. Finally, without any further mishap, we reached the Hudson's Bay Ferry about 3 p.m. Here we found the steamer "Marquis." She had arrived from Prince Albert that morning, and Mr. Bedson having decided to bring her up the river, in company with the "Northcote," steps were at once taken to complete her outfit and make her more defensible; and I directed Mr. White-Fraser, commanding the Mounted Police at that post, to send an officer in charge of her with as large a force of men as he could spare from his command. This he did, and himself proceeded in charge. My orders to both boats were to start up the river at dawn next morning, but owing to delays of one

kind and another, it was 8 o'clock before we got off. On the way up the steering apparatus of the "Marquis" became damaged, and the "Northcote" had to take her in tow. This made our progress very slow, but without any further accident we reached Batoche about 8 p.m., just too late to take part in the splendid victory of yesterday.

Before closing this report, I beg to call your attention to the zeal and energy shown by Mr. Bedson on this occasion; his services were valuable in the highest degree; also to the support and advice which I received from Captain Wise, your aide-de-camp. His coolness and courage were remarkable. Notwithstanding his wound, he persisted in remaining in the cabin, the most exposed part of the boat, and his example did much to give confidence to all on board. The other officers also were very active and vigilant, the non-commissioned officers and men worked to my entire satisfaction, and the civilians on board, except the crew, took part in the fight with a zeal which could not be surpassed.

Our weakness lay in the fact that the master, pilot and engineer were aliens, and that the crew were civil employes and not enlisted men.

The wounded—I am glad to say that their injuries were not serious—were sent on from the ferry to Prince Albert by waggon.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
H. SMITH, Captain and Bt. Major,
Commanding "C" Co., Infantry School Corps.

CAMP FORT PITT,
May 28th, 1885.

To Major-General Middleton,
Commanding.

SIR,—On the morning of the 25th, from intelligence received from Captain Oswald, advanced scout, that the ruins of Fort Pitt were still burning, with a force of Indians in the neighbourhood, I pushed on the first ten miles and reached Fort Pitt without opposition. I sent scouts in every direction. The Reverend Canon McKay and the Reverend John McDougall crossed the river with scouts, they reported tracks made by white women's feet and found slippers. I immediately made preparations to cross the river. Next day I received information that Major Steele, commanding advanced scouts to the east on north side of the river, had been fired upon about ten miles distant from Fort Pitt, two Indians were killed and their ponies captured; one of the Indians wore the Queen's medal and is said to be the head man who commenced the outbreak at

Saddle Lake. Meanwhile I had sent Major Perry with twenty police to reconnoitre south side of river. He is still absent. I subsequently received a report from Major Steele that the Indians were in force on his front; the scouts counted one hundred and eighty-seven lodges. I immediately marched with all the troops at my disposal, after leaving a company of the 65th to fortify and protect what remained of Fort Pitt, with the camp equipage and stores I left behind. Mustering one hundred and ninty-five rank and file infantry, twenty-nine cavalry and one gun, wishing to advance quickly I used all the available waggons to carry Winnipeg Light infantry detachment, and sent 65th detachment by river on flat boat. On reaching Major Steele and his scouts, I corralled the waggons and advanced four miles and a half and found the enemy occupying a very advantageous position; and, signalling for reinforcements, I immediately attacked and drove them from their position without loss on my part. Major Steele with the North-West Police and Scouts under his command carried the position on the left with the assistance of one company of infantry of the Winnipeg Light Infantry. The field gun, under Captain Strange and Sergeant O'Connor, North-West Mounted Police, and manned by a detachment of Winnipeg Light Infantry, made excellent practice. I was not able to wait for the junction of the 65th, who left the boats and advanced with alacrity. I followed the enemy's trail until darkness was approaching, through a terribly thick and difficult country where I could scarcely find space to corral the waggons and horses. The force being without tents, bivouacked under arms without camp fires.

At day break on the 28th I again moved forward, finding numerous traces of recent trails joining the Indian forces from every direction. About 7:30 a.m., I found the enemy occupying an impregnable position in the forks of the Red Deer and little Red Deer, presenting a salient with a natural glacis crowned with bush and rifle-pits along the crest, the Red Deer River, which expands into a muskeg, covering the front and flanks of the position, which extended about three miles. I deployed the little force at my disposal, throwing forward Major Steele, Winnipeg Mounted Infantry dismounted, and scouts, and 65th detachment under Colonel Hughes, and half Winnipeg Light Infantry extending on their right, remaining in reserve. Colonel Osborne Smith commanding reserves, Major Hutton, Alberta Mounted Rifles, covering right flank. The gun under Captain Strange and Sergeant Owen made excellent practice, silencing several rifle pits. I corralled the waggons in rear. Finding the direct attack in front impracticable, I ordered Major Steele to retire his men, mount and make a detour to endeavour to turn the enemy's right flank while occupying their attention on the front. After being absent for some time he returned, and reported the enemy's

position extending for a mile and a half, with a muskeg in front impassable for his men, the enemy's position being about three miles in extent and defended, the scouts informed me, by at least six hundred men, some of whom crept through the wood around me and opened fire upon the waggons, corralled in rear. The teamsters, however, under Captain Wright, 43rd Regiment, remained steady under fire. I judged it advisable to retire to more open ground. This was carried out by the forces with perfect deliberation, the gun under Captain Strange firing until the last moment, the enemy's fire dying away almost; the return being covered by Major Steele's men dismounted, we were not molested. They retired to open ground six miles distant, where they corralled the waggons and turned out the horses to graze, and cooked provisions for the men. Our loss is very slight considering the fire we were under, the men taking excellent cover:—

65th Battalion:

Private Le Mai, shot through the lungs.
Private Marcotte, wounded seriously but not dangerously.
Constable J. McRea, N. W. M. P., shot through the leg.

All the troops did their duty to my entire satisfaction. Thanks are specially due to Brigade-Major Dale, Major Steele, Commanding Cavalry, and Colonel Osborne Smith and Colonel Hughes, Commanding Battalions; Captain Wright, Supply officer; Major Boulton, Commanding Bridging party; Surgeon Pennyfather, made arrangements for the field hospital.

T. B. STRANGE, Major-General,
and Colonel Commanding Field Force.

Lieut.-Col. Boulton, Officers and Men of Boulton's Mounted Infantry:

It is with feelings of thankfulness and joy that we, the residents of the county of Russell, welcome you home from the scene of the recent rebellion, where you so faithfully and unflinchingly performed your part in quelling the disturbance that had at one time every appearance of becoming a serious and disastrous war.

We have viewed with great satisfaction and pride your gallant conduct when under fire during the rebellion, and also the fortitude with which you endured the great hardships necessarily incident to the campaign, and desire to convey to you our hearty congratulations on your safe return.

To you, Lieutenant-Colonel Boulton, the Dominion of Canada owes a debt of gratitude which no material reward for the voluntary offer of your services in so perilous and arduous an undertaking can repay.

When that offer was made, your many friends in other parts of Canada as well as in Manitoba felt that succour was at hand from

the proper quarter, and they were not surprised at the prompt response made by the brave men who followed you and who acquitted themselves no nobly.

From the time of your departure as a troop for the front, many eyes anxiously watched your movements, and many hearts followed you on your forced and weary ride, as the feeling became general that no small share of the victory that must eventually come would be due to you, and in this surely the fondest hopes of all have been realized.

We regret that, while you are to be congratulated on your comparatively few casualties, considering the position you occupied in the different engagements, some of you have suffered injuries which will be permanent.

We desire to place on record the deep sorrow we feel for those who have fallen, and our sincere sympathy with you in the loss of two such brave comrades, and with their friends in their great grief; but it is with pride we think of them as having fallen like soldiers, and we assure you that their names will never be forgotten.

Signed on behalf of the residents of the county of Russell.

DAVID M. KINNAIRD, Secretary.
G. L. SMELLIE, Chairman.

Russell, July 31st, 1885.

To Major Boulton, Officers and Men of Boulton's Mounted Infantry

SOLDIERS AND COUNTRYMEN,—The citizens of Birtle and the people of this district enjoy the privilege of giving you a cordial reception on your return from the dangerous expedition in which you have been engaged, and conveying to you our sense of obligation for the services you have rendered and our very high appreciation of the courage and general soldierly deportment with which you have been credited in the report of Major-General Middleton to the Government. The readiness with which you responded to the call of your country; the rapidity of your preparation for fight; the abundance of your resources in the time of difficulty, and your gallantry in the contest, have excited the astonishment and admiration of those most experienced in warfare. As citizens of the North-West it was your right to stand in the front of the battle and in the face of the foe, and most nobly have you done your duty.

When you left us a few months ago, we were impressed with a deep sense of anxiety as to what might be the result of your first military experience. We fully recognized the subtlety and fighting ability of the foes you were to engage; but we cherished a fond hope and a lively expectation, knowing that the prayers of the Christian church and the Christian people of the Dominion were constantly presented to the God of battles for your preservation, and remembering that you were young Canadians—that you inherited in a

direct line the blood, the bravery, the pluck and endurance of the defenders of our flag in the brave days of old. This cherished hope has now been realized, and to-day we join in tendering you our hospitalities, our recognition of your bravery, and our grateful appreciation of the services you have rendered to us and to our common country. While all your comrades in arms are receiving similar acknowledgments from the people of the Eastern portion of the Dominion, we feel a just pride in being satisfied, from the reports that have reached us, of your having always been at the front in the most important engagements, as well as having filled the most dangerous posts to which your particular branch of the service, as mounted men, was exposed, that your soldierly qualities are second to none, and this fact makes it peculiarly gratifying to us to tender you this hearty welcome home.

In our gratitude and joy we have, however, one dark cloud. Your muster-roll is not complete. Some of your companions have proved that the path of glory leads but to the grave, and our home circles are not all unbroken. The bereaved ones have our earnest sympathy and fervent prayers for consolation in this their dark hour; and while we have a cheer for the victors we have also a kindly tear for those who are called to weep.

To you, Major Boulton, and the men of your troop, these sentiments are offered in the hope that the services you have rendered to the Dominion will show to the mother country that Canadians are worthy sons of the worthy sires who defended the old flag in the days gone by, and secure to us the character of a self-reliant and prosperous young nation.

Signed on behalf of the District.

J. S. Crawford,
Mayor of Birtle.

To Major Boulton, Officers and Men of Boulton's Mounted Infantry.

Sirs,—It gives us great pleasure to welcome you to this, one of the oldest villages in the North-West, upon your return to peace and happiness, after undergoing the hardships and vicissitudes of the late campaign.

While regretting the necessity of your presence there, we desire to have the honour of congratulating you and your men on your success as soldiers and patriots. You were one of the first who saw the necessity of immediate and prompt action inraising a mounted corps, and the men under your command have shown themselves worthy of their commander, fearless in danger and anxious to do their duty as soldiers and Canadians; and as we eagerly scanned the papers for news from the front, and read of the success of our boys, it sent a thrill of pleasure to our hearts to know that you, with whom nearly all of us are acquainted, were always in advance

here, there, and everywhere. When we recall the words of Lord Nelson, "England expects that every man this day shall do his duty," we feel a just pride in being able to say to you and your men that you have done your duty nobly and well. But while addressing you who are here with us, let us not forget those who have fallen in defence of our constitution, and, as we drop a silent tear over their graves, we feel a consolation in knowing that they died a noble death. And now let us express the wish that your services may not be required again in the field of battle, but that as you have returned to your homes tired and weary after the severe campaign, you may enjoy the well-earned rest which you so nobly merit.

Please accept this humble address, which expresses in a feeble manner, indeed, our appreciation of your efforts and success in the field.

Signed on behalf of the citizens of Shoal Lake and vicinity.

JOHN TEMPLETON,
HUGH MCKAY,
HENRY W. RAYMER.

Shoal Lake, August 7th, 1885.

LIST OF OFFICERS AND MEN

Comprising the North-West Field Force which suppressed the Rebellion of 1885.

References:—Killed in action,* Died from wounds,** Wounded in action, † Injured,‡

Commander in Chief—Major General Sir F. Middleton, G.C.M.G., C.B.
Chief of Staff—Lord Melgund.
A.D.C.—Capt. H. G. Wise.
Lieutenant—A. E. Doucet.
Lieutenant—H. C. Freer.
Commanding Artillery — Lt.-Col. C. E. Montizambert
Infantry Brigadier—Lt.-Col. Van Straubenzie.
D.A.G.—Lt. Col. C. F. Houghton.
Acting D.A.G.—Major H. Smith.
Acting Q.M.G.—Captain Haig, R.E.
Brigade Major—Captain G. H. Young.
" " C. G. Harstone.
Brigade Surgeon—Dr. G. J. Orton.
" " Dr. E. A. Graveley.
Chief Transport Officer—S. L. Bedson.
Assistant Tr. Off.—J. E. Secretan.
" " Major Kirwan.
Supply Officer—Mr. Underwood.
Orderly Officer—Major Street.
Camp Quarter-Master—Geo. F. Cole.
Chief Interpreter—Mr. Hourle.

"A" Battery Royal Canadian Artillery.

Capt. J. Peters
C. W. Drury
Lieut. V. B. Rivers
J. A. G. Hudon
Staff Sergt. W. Mawhinney †
E. H. Walling
J. C. Cornish
Sergt. J. Scott
A. Mulcahy
T. Newnham
Corp. T. K. Smith
J. Mellon
Bomb. A. Maringer
W. Grant
C. E. Long
J. Callaghan
Actg. Bomb. C. Wolfe
J. Staples
J. S. Bridgeford
S. Parkhill
D. H. Taylor †
T. McGuire
J. Shaw
A. Gauvreau
J. E. Brydges
C. Armsworth **
Gunner B. Asselin †
J. Blais
A. Bertrand
D. Beaudry
T. Begin
N. Bois
Fk. Barnes
M. Coyne
W. O. Couper
Gunner J. Couture
R. Chalut
J. Casey
N. Charpentier **
P. Corbett
Wm. Cook *
G. Davust
A. Dionne
W. Dolan
J. Fetherston
P. Fannon
J. W. Foster
W. S. Fairbanks †
T. Forster
G. Genower
A. Giroux
J. Gotren
F. Hamilton
G. Hastie
P. Hogues
J. Harrison †
R. Hartshorn
J. Harrington
A. Hebert
A. Imrie †
M. Kennedy
Jas. A. King
B. King
W. Kingsley
T. Kelly
A. Laidlaw
T. Lawlor
J. Lemquin
P. Langlois
W. Langarell †
Gunner J. Marshall
J. McGrath
A. W. Marshall
M. Maloney
C. McCarthy
F. Mellor
W. Mackney
H. de Manolly *
R. McQuire
G. Mercier
A. Malvy
J. March
A. Moras
C. Morine
N. Ouellette †
J. O'Grady
H. Paquet
W. Phillips *
W. McD. Prenter
J. Rousseau
T. Roach
T. Redding
D. Saucier
W. Smith
T. J. Stout ‡
W. Sheley
J. Slade
J. Slater
M. Twohy †
J. Turner †
A. Tardif
J. Wallis
A. D. Waldie
T. Webster
M. J. Wilson †

Attached to "A" Battery from Volunteer-Corps and who volunteered their services to proceed to the North-West.

Bomb. A. S. Boutillier, No. 2 Battery Halifax G.A.
Guner H. T. Millie, No. 5 Battery, Halifax G.A.
Gun. W. Y. Woodman, Digby Battery †
Eug. Moisan, No. 3 Battery Quebec G.A. †
Sergt. Thos. Richardson, No. 4 Battery N. B. Brigade G.A.
Gun. Chas. Porter, Yarmouth Battery.

Winnipeg Field Battery.

Maj. E. W. Jarvis
Capt. L. W. Coutlee
Lieut. G. H. Young
2nd Lieut. G. H. Ogilvie
Surgeon A. Codd
Vet.-Sgn. J. G. Rutherford
Sergt.-Maj. T. Nixon, jr
Qnr. Mas. S. G. Leask
Far.-Sergt. F. C. Dickson
Hosp.-Sergt. A. Farmworth
Pay-Sergt. E. Doidge
Sergt. P. Quealy
T. H. Persee
W. R. Nursey
T. Graveley
Corp. J. W. Keeler
C. A. Boultbee
Corp. R. Thomson
W. H. Broune
Bomb. C. D. Rickard
D. E. Perry
C. A. Booth
Gun. or Driv. F. H. Boxer
F. W. Boultbee
W. M. Crawford
C. F. Corbett
R. T. Dalton
W. J. Edwards
J. H. Evans
Farnham
E. Foster
G. F. Gilpin
C. D. Jarvis
Gun. or Driv. E. Knowlton
E. D. Leahy
J. Leitch
A. McGregor
K. D. McQueen
T. A. Moore
A. Norquay
J. W. Radiger
J. Richardson
H. W. Rowan
C. Stewart
W. J. Stinson
J. M. Suttie
A. Walker
S. J. Wood
G. Slack Wood

"Boulton's Mounted Infantry"—No. 1 Russell Troop.

Maj. Charles Arkell Boulton
Quar.-Mas. and Pay-Mas. Geo J. Cox, Russell.
Surgeon P. N. Rolston
Dresser Mr. Kinlock
Capt. M. Gardiner
E. Brown
G. Campbell
Arthur C. D. Pigott
Vet. R. Murray
Colour Sergt. Alex. Stewart
Sergt. H. Allbright
Arthur B. R. Kaye
Corp. J. Burton
E. A. Marriott
Interp. A. McArthur
Farr. Sergt. D. Gallacher
Quar.-Mas. Sergt. D. Smith
Trooper W. J. Henderson
R. McCallum
A. Denmark
W M. Baker
W. Dunkin
Trooper A. Warnock
D. Hartley
J. Mathison
E. Little
W. Scott
E. A. Goldstone
M. S. Vankoughnet
M. Gamble
J. Walker
Corp. Fk. Fisher
E. W. Brine
W. Gordon
C. A. Saunders
Trooper C. Warner
F. J. Thompson †
J. Langford †
V. Bruce †
M. Hewitt
F. Filby
J. Hyde
D. Baker *
H. B. Perrin †
Trooper E. Gater
J. Williamson
C. M. Robinson
C. McLurcan ‡
J. Davidson
E. W. Early
F. J. Hill
C. J. Johnstone
Fk. Archer
J. L. Bucknell
G. Macdonald
Hon. C. Manners
C. Phibbs
E. McLorg
H. C. Ross
N. Ross
Fk. Vinnell
R. Fish
G. Neilson
V. Hutcheson
J. Hanafin
J. Toogood

"Boulton's Mounted Infantry"—No. 2 Birtle Troop.

Capt. J. A. Johnston
Adjt. H. Gough
Colour Sergt. H. Wood
Sergt. E. Dalton ‡
W. Ball
Corp. T. Selby
T. Logan
Trooper C King †
J. M. McNeil
Joseph Barrett
R. Mahaffy
W. Doig
J. Flynn
T. Neil
C. T. Moyle
G. Lyons
G. Fisher
H. Winearls
W. S. Ashe

Trooper G. Hall
J. Bolton
D. McLean
P. Roberts
C. Roberts
G. Robertson
W. M. Morrison
D. Johnstone
R. K. Clarering
H. Hay
C. E. Bagshaw
A. J. Spiers
W. C. Stewart * *
G. Bristol
A. D. Price
W. Taylor
H. Gibson
W. Green
E. O. G. Head

Trooper H. B. Bierd
W. Crawford
R. Lane
J. B. Pentland
J. Richardson
H. B. Savin
J. Thompson
A. Walker
Sergt. J. Anderson
H. Travis
J. Y. Ormsby
D. McIvor
H. B. Mitchell
E. DeBalinhard
S. McKenzie
J. Pocha
B. Reid
M. McLoughlin

Roll of Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Men of "C" School of Infantry, who were part of the column under Major-General Middleton's immediate command in the North-West.

Capt. & Bt. Maj. H. Smith
Lieut. A. Y. Scott, Q. O. R. (attached).
Colour Sergt. R. Cumming †
Sergt. J. Calladine
J. E. Burns
Bgl. W. F. Burnham
Corp. D. C. Williamson
C. Peters
Lce.-Corp. J. Peterkin
Private H. Morrison
S. Gilmore
C. Coombs
W. H. Price
G. Graham

Private E. J. Macdonald
F. Dunn
J. H. Lowe
R. S. Lye
J. W. Craigh
J. Hagger
R. H. Dunn †
J. Strong
T. Neilly
R Jones †
Fk. E. Bird
E. J. McDonnell †
H. Jones †
J. E. Tingman

Private E. J. Mayes
R. Taylor
E. F. Malone
W. Barber
W. Taylor
W. J. Morrison
W. H. Woods
J. Reid
J. Hayter
H. O'Neill
E. Harris †
W. H. Holmes
E. Cameron
R. J. Watson * *

French's Scouts.

Capt. J. French *
Lieut. W. Brittlebank (became captain after death of Capt. French).
Private C. Funnes
M. Gifford
C. Mahony
A. K. Empey
J. R. C. Rowley
C. R. Tyson
H. P. R. Rusden
J. W. McDougall
H. Smith

Private J. McDonald
R. Rowley
W. R. C. Passy
D. A. Starr
J. Saunderson
E. Morton
L. Lusted
G. K. Allen †
G. Sayer
J. H. Sayer
B. Tennyson
W. H. Bilson

Private W. McDonald
J. Lusted
J. Page
A. Morrow
J. McKay
G. Wardrope
J. McOnat
J. Reid
E. Thomas
R. S. Cook †
J. Vinen
A. Marr

Members of Dominion Land Surveyors Intelligence Corps.

Capt. J. S. Dennis
Lieut. J. J. Burrows
W. Small
A. O. Wheeler
G. H. Grabazon
L. R. Ord
J. F. Garden
W. Beatty
B. J. Saunders
J. K. McLean
C. E. Wolffe
N. C. Denny
J. A. Maddock
J. McLatcher
W. Crawford
T. S. Gore
A. W. Kippen *
T. Fawcett

Act. Ass.Surg. C. S. Haultain
Private L. Blanchett
R. C. Woodly
W. E. DeRinzey
J. F. Mowat
F. W. Cumming
J. P. A. Sproule
A. Fawcett
J. A. Milne
W. B. Cornock
H. D. Kelly
W. B. Ord
F. A. Martin
A. Stephen
C. Campbell
H. J. Dennis
J. Johnson
W. F. Torrance

Private T. S. Russell
A. E. Driscoll
B. Anderson
A. Hawes
M. Morrison
J. Hunt
C. Popham
J. M. McVicker
W. Chaloner
G. W. Campbell
F. A. Disbrow
G. L. Garden
T. Henderson
F. Bourgeau
A. R. Burns
W. A. Giles
Chas. B. Perry
F. Shea

10th Royal Grenadiers.

Lieut.-Col. H. J. Grasett
Maj. G. D. Dawson
Adjt., Capt. F. F. Manley †
Ass. Sgn. Dr. Ryerson
Act. Qur. Mas., Lieut. W. Sr Lowe
Staff Serg. Hutchinson
Alf. Curran
Act. Sergt.-Maj. J. S. Munroe
Drum-Maj. W. Bewley
Hosp. Sergt. D. Hazleton
Pion. Sergt. C. W. Hardinge

NO. 1 COMPANY.

Capt. F. A. Caston
Lieut. D. M. Howard
2nd Lieut. A. C. Gibson
Colour Sergt. F. Frances
Sergt. J. G. Coodman
G. P. Magner
R. Davis
Corp. A. E. Moore
J. G. Craig
J. Foley †
W. Rogers
C. M. Thrush
J. W. Bolton
V. E. Ashdown
W. W. Small
Private T. J. Allan
H. R. Allan
A. E. Baines
J. Blevins
J. W. Beattie
C. Bloxom
H. Boothe
J. Boyd
W. J. Carter

Private G. Cook
J. Richardson
B. W. Smith
G. Smith †
R. Wiggins
G. Wood
G. White
Bgl. M. Gaughan †
Drum. J. King
J. Myles
Amb. J. Hunter
A. Taylor
Pion. G. Bradford
Private Moberly
J. Gray
G. Congalton
A. B. Curran
S. H. Dye
J. M. Egar †
W. Fraser
G. A. Geasley
H. Green
D. M. Haines
H. J. Hare
R. G. Henry
J. Ibbotson
J. J. Kilby
J. McDonald
E. Major
J. R. Martin
H. Milsom †
H. V. Mitchell
J. H. Mitchell
J. H. McDonald
J. A. McKenzie
J. A. McQuillan
J. O'Malley
G. Peters
A. Price
J. Quigley

NO. 2 COMPANY.

Capt. Jas. Mason †
Lieut. A. M. Irving
2nd Lieut. John D. Hay
Colour Sergt. Johnston
T. Lane
Sergt. W Metcalf
W. Jack
G. Nelson
Corp. Geo. C. Moody
James Wishart
D. Farragher
John Sinclair
W. H. Coxon
David Anderson
Private Richard Cooke
James Richardson
Thos. A. Williams
Robt. Reynolds
John Smith
John Moss
Louis Stead †
W. J. Cantwell †
Charles W. Rogers
Frank Rogers
Arthur Ward
Robert A. Stanley
George Croucher
Phillip Beaugie
John Griffin
Fred. Petty
Christ. Steirn
Thomas Blake
Benj. Pearson
Albert Bruce
Thomas Dean
William Gibson
Oscar Freemantle
Samuel Downey

10th Royal Grenadiers—Continued.

Private Thomas Milne
Wm. Blythe
D. Snell
John Mitchell
George Sculley
John Billinghurst
Andrew Murdison
Robert Thorpe
Robert Newman
Wallace Dossitt
Patrick Cronin
Wm. Richardson
James Baxter
Arthur Aikins
Eli Jeffries
Ernest Worsdell
Thomas Stanley
Albert Roberts
John Reid
James Marshall †
John Streeton
Ernest Newman
W. D. Whiting
Amb. Cps. S. Fearn
J. Bee
Pion. D. Shepherd
Bgl Thomas Cuthbert
Geo. Baker
Drum. Wm. Cuthbert
Fifer Hugh Burke

NO. 3 COMPANY.

Capt. O. L. Spence
Lieut. W. C. Fitch *
2nd Lieut. John Morrow
Staff-Sergt J. Hutchinson
Colour Sergt. Wm. Dale
Sergt. G. Knight
W. Mowat
John Nolan
John Jamieson
Corp. Robert Moore
Robert Whiteacre
Thomas Johnston
W. G. Fowler
W. Taylor
W. Marsh
Robert Blevins
George Dickson
Wm. Butcher
Lce.-Corp. Jno. Coulter
Privgte R. J. Beeman
George Bremnan
Alfred Burridge
James Campbell
Private Albert Coburn
Robert Cook †
Richard Culley
William Drake
Henry Fletcher
Alfred Hambleton
Arthur Hatch
Thomas Hick
Thomas Hunter
Robert March
Alfred Meade
George Meade
Thomas Metcalfe
John Menary
William Mitchell
Thomas Moor *
John Pollard
Walter Randall
Henry Riddle
Henry Roberts
Alfred Scovell †
C. Spice
John Stayne
Robert Studham
Thomas Taylor
Adam Trotter
Richard Tyler
James Wylie
John Welby
A. Woodruffe
James Woodward
Pion. Lawrence Belz
Amb. Corp. C. Haultain
Percy Scharsmidt
Drum. John McDonald
Wm. Holden
Bgl. Frank Nixon
Walter Impey

NO. 4 COMPANY.

Capt. C. G. Harston
Lieut. G. P. Elliot
2nd Lieut. F. M. Michie
Colour Sergt. F. W. Curzon
N. Cusick
Sergt. J. Dent
T. W. Mitchell
F. Kitchener
Corp. F. Godfrey
F. W. Dent
E. C Currie
T. McMullen
J. Stainsby
W. Jefferies
Lce.-Corp. L. Judge
Private H. Watson
A. G. Ross
H. Brisbane †
R. Tipton
W. J. Urquhart
G. Phillips
G. Tansley
R. F. Simmons
W. J. Delahunty
J. Davis
A. Gordon
W. Roberts
H. E. Peagam
W. R. Hawkins
J. Hughes
I. Hughes
M. Ross
B. Burtchell
J. Bennett
F. G. McMurray
J. Urquhart
R. F. Joseph
E. C. T. Doole
F. Hughes
S. Calderwood
R. Ross
W. Egles
J. Egles
R. Dempster
J. H. Fox
W. Donnelly †
G. F. Lenoir
F. Hancy
A. S. Martin †
C. C. Hammond
D. Hambly
W. Colls
S. Bennett
C. McGreevy
R. C. Campbell
D. Smith
F. J. Smythe
J. M. McIlvean
F. Smith
Felix Haney
J. Cain †
P. Riggan
Amb. Corp. W. E. Mitchell
C. Holman
Pion. C. Golback
Bgl. T. Johnson
J. Hume
J. Brickendon
J. W. Marshall

90th Winnipeg Rifles.

Lieut.-Col. A. McKeand
Maj. C. M. Boswell
L. Buchan
Sgn. G. T. Orton
Ass.-Srg. J. M. Whitford
Quar.-Mas. L. C. McTavish
Sergt.-Maj. J. Watson
Q.M.S. Rogers
P.M.S. E. K. Campbell
Or. R. Clk. G. Broughall
Hosp. Serg. McKeown
Bgl. Maj. H. Gooding
Band Corp. F. C. Kennedy
G. Bailey
H. J. Kirk
Bandsm. J. A. Starratt
E. Cann
E. H. Reid
A. Deritt
C. O. Breach
A. F. Crane
J. Le Moges
F. J. Dowkins
W. Hinittey
G. Downard
W. Buchanan
R. King
J. Raper
O. W. Kennedy

NO. 1 COMPANY.

Maj. C. F. Forrest
Lieut. H. J. Macdonald
2nd Lieut. R. L. Sewell
Act. Col.-Sergt. A. Buckler
Sergt. E. G. Steele
R. Macklin
Corp. W. Kemp
S. A. Doyle
L. A. Maguire
H. F. Theaker †
Bgl. R. Buchanan
J. Hardie
Private G. B. Anderson
J. Magee ‡
R. Baron
F. T. Brooks
R. M. Bailey
R. W. Blake
J. Dean
A. M. Ferguson *
R. Dudgeon
J. Mowat
A. J. Howell
Frank Huckell
J. Hutcheson *
Private C. Kemp †
W. Kitely
W. Loughead
G. H. Merritt
S. Moffatt
T. E. Mitchell
G. D. McAllister
G. McAllister
E. Morris
A. McNally
A. W. Matthews †
J. Mornington
W. Odell
J. Pickerton
J. H. Polson
J. Ridler
W. Reid
J. Sproat
S. W. Shaw
T. Thurman
T. L. Southwick
W. J. Watts
J. H. Wooton
J. Link
R. M. Doyle
J. Jones
C. H. Bouchette †
S. Playford
J. Lamb

NO. 2 COMPANY.

Capt. H. W. Ruttan
Lieut. G. W. Stewart
2nd Lieut. J. M. Healey
Colour Sergt. H. D. Sullock
Sergt. C. H. Millican
Corp. W. Bailey
F. Johnson †
G. Peterson
Lce.-Corp. H. B. Fronson
Bgl. J. Buchanan
R. L. Beatty
Private W. J. Meacham
T. Rogers
A. W. Timewall
D. Try
J. H. Fisher
C. Betts
G. C. A. Batcs
B. Gillam
R. J. Rogers
T. Izard
E. Moyses
J. Roberts
E. Lovell †
A. W Ancill
Private G. Wheeler *
A. H. Wheeler
E. Harrison
C. Williams
G. H. Chappell
C. McMillan
C. Peterkin
J. W. C. Swan †
W. C. Menzies
J. Stovel
J. M. O'Reilley †
C. Wilkes
P. Zimmerman
W. G. Johnson
E. W. Green
S. Oliver
J. Judd
W. Hickey
W. Whellan
A. Goslin
D. W. Cowan

NO. 3 COMPANY.

Capt. W. A. Wilkes
Lieut. H. Bolster
2nd Lieut. C. Swinford * *
Colour Sergt. W. H. Cullin
Sergt. F. R. Jakes
James Tees
Corp. J. Lethbridge †
J. S. B. Code * *
J. D. Stephens
Lce.-Corp. E. W. Turner
F. Mahoney
Bgl. G. J. McGriffin
Private R. K. Allan
E. Armstrong
T. Booz
G. Bouchette
G. Cameron
J. W. Curry
W. T. Creighton
W. H. Canniff †
J. B. Chambers †
J. Dowker
H. H. Fraser
J. Fraser
J. H. Houden
W. Hughes
C. F. Houell
T. D. Leighton
J. D. Lewis
G. K. Malcolmson
F. Morgan
W. J. Mackay
J. Mackay

90th Winnipeg Rifles—Continued.

Private M. McCormack
F. Nixon
M. B. Orde
J. E. Porter
W. J. Thera
W. E. Slater
W. J. Taafe
E. Whitelaw
A. L. Young
R. E. Young
J. Snider

NO. 4 COMPANY.

Capt. C. A. Worsnop
Lieut. Z. Wood
H. M. Arnold
Colour Sergt. A. H. Smith
Sergt. W. Kean
T. Howard
W. B. Colgate
B. Sinead
T. Richardson
H. Bowden
W. Gall
Bgl. Wertheim
Private J. McRobert
Kemp
Shaw
H. Ennis *
J. Kenn
T. Dunn
Gouvin
H. Denn
H. M. Morgan
McLachlan
D. Brundrit
Brush
Davis
Morris
Pritchard
Ferguson
Erikson
R. Hardisty * *
J. Brown
Wardell
B. T. Cooper
W. H. D'Arcy
Zuill
S. Edwards
Wainwright
M. Johnson
Private Hannah
W. Kestall
Graham
Mullins
McGorden
Grayburn

NO. 5 COMPANY.

Capt. R. J. Whitlaw
Lieut. E. G. Piche
2nd Lieut. A. E. McPhillips
Colour Sergt. R. C. Dickson
Sergt. T. W. Spearman
H. Cooke
Corp. W. Wane
J. Lockhart
W. Cooke
Bgl. H. Cattin
Private S. J. Smith
J. Wilkes
W. Eddles
O. L. Coombes
W. Burke
R. Pomroy
M. Smith
W. J. Swine
W. J. Ellis
C. Longman
J. Preston
J. Killett
E. Taylor
W. Dewry
R. Shanklin
J. W. Hopkins
A. Matheson
J. Hazlewood
G. Monk
W. F. Whellans
H. Downey
F. Clinch
J. Matthews
L. H. Eyre
A. Johnson
K. Munroe
S. Keysor
A. C. Fisher
T. C. Woods
E. Kern
H. G. Buss
D. L. Macdonald
Private F. Benway
W. Radcliffe
H. Reynale
W. Van Celit
A. F. Kejkdan
J. Paton

NO. 6 COMPANY.

Capt. W. Clarke †
Lieut. F. Campbell
R. C. Laurie
Colour Sergt. C. M. Mitchell
Sergt. T. Wright
T. S. Smith
Corp. J. Gillies
J. D. Marshall
H. Law
Lce.-Corp. G. Grant
Private J. Pitblado
McPherson
A. Mowat
J. Mowat
D. Horn
Blackwood †
McIntosh
Scott
Laurie
R. Gillies
J. McDiarmid
A. Ross
J. Crown
J. Muir
Smith
D. Moore
Shaw
D. Hislop †
A. Watson
Bell
Massig
McIntyre
Holden
A. McQueen
Dallas
A. Gilies
Mullils
G. Baxter
W. Wright
Slowwans
J. Mowat
Bgl. R. D. Campbell

Midland Battalion from Midland District, Ontario.

Lieut.-Col. A. T. H. Williams
Major H. R. Smith
Maj., Lieut.-Col. Deacon
Adjt. E. J. Ponton
Quar. Mas. Clemmes
Sgn. Dr. Horsey
Sergt.-Maj. T. I. Sprou
Q.M.'s Clk. L. V. Macdougall
Hosp. Sergt. D. Carson
O. Rm. Clk. J. Hooper
P.M.S. W. Stewart

Midland Battalion from Midland District, Ontario—Continued.

"A" COMPANY, BELLEVILLE.

Capt. Lazier
Lieut. J. Halliwell †
C. E. Kenny
Colour Sergt. Wrighton
Sergt. Maiden
Alex. Robinson
Corp. H. James
J. W. H. Belcher
Halliwell †
Private Ed. Howard
L. Wallbridge
W. McGuire
W. Haslett
W. Morton
T. Hammond
W. Arie
C. W. Brundage
W. Livingstone
J. Young
L. Venn
H. McCullough
W. Walsh
W. G. Kerr
Geo. Gerow
A. Thompson
H. Smart
G. Cox
L. Soles
J. E. Fry
C. F. Burnham
R. W. Baker
B. Palmer
C. Clapp
W. Herrington
J. Barlow
C. E. Henderson
Geo. Eves
Jos. Keirl
Geo. Wilson
R. Hart
S. M. Daly
J. Connors
J. Corbett
W. H. Gordon
Brodie
Bgl. J. Hamilton

"B" COMPANY.

Capt. Bonnycastle
Lieut. Givon
Tomlinson
Colour Sergt. C. S. Strong
Sergt. F. P. Story
A. Fraser
Corp. G. Batchelor
F. Preling
E. Fredericks
Private T. C. Reynolds
G. Odell
T. Pope
F. Nancarrow
Private G. Nadoo
B. Fredericks
W. McKee
R. Begg
E. Mitchell
C. Rannie
C. Clute
T. Rannie
C. Potter
W. Mills
J. Jacobs
W. Fraser
J. Hill
G. Morrison
W. Giddy
W. Thurston
C. Thurston
W. McGonegal
R. McGonegal
G. Burke
G. Smith
R. Quackenbush
G. Armstrong
D. McDonald
G. Fames
S. Wood
G. Hornbeck
W. Medcalf
J. Stroud
R. Clifton
Bgl. G. Dixon

"C" COMPANY, LINDSAY.

Maj. Hughes
Capt. Grace
Lieut. Laidlaw †
Colour Sergt. McMurtry
Sergt. Christie Hottorf †
Corp. McKee
Hall
McMurchy
Private Barton †
Brown
Benting
Crawford
Charleton
Bennett
Fryer
Fishley
Gregory
Gain
Gamble
Galbraith
Higgins
Hepburn
Henry
Irwin
Just
Jeffrey
Cayley
Keele
Kegan
Private Latimer
Lee
Moyse
Macdonald
Moore
Pratt
A. Smith
S. Smith
Stacey
Savage
Skinner
Turner
Vetch
Williamson
J. Wilson
W. A. Wilson
Woods
Porter

"D" COMPANY. MILLBROOK AND MANVERS.

Capt. Chas. Winslow
Lieut. J V. Preston
Colour Sergt. F. McCurry
Sergt. J. Beatty
M. H. Sisson
Corp. R. Lamb
W. Guy
A. Hannah
Private J. Bateson
E McCurry
C. Guy
R. Powell
J. Stainthorp
S. Storey
W. Gardiner
W. G. Young
Geo. Hughes
Geo. Salter
T. McLean
E. Brown
Jas. Howden
Ira Nattress
W. Powell
Thos. Fraser
Thos. Rehill
Henry McGill
Albert Shoaler
W. Garnett
Fred. Cochrane
Geo. Jamieson
F. Leicester
G Nilands
John Hartley
K. Fraser
George Lockie
R. Barker
C. Greenwood
Geo. Peterbaugh
F. Cole
Lockhart
Bgl. H. Sherwood

Midland Battalion from Midland District, Ontario—Continued.

"E" COMPANY, PORT HOPE.

Maj. R. Dingwall
Capt. T. B. Evans
Lieut. W. Smart
Private R. McGill
W. McGill
J. Brook
Wm Ross
Robert Warner
Wm. Downs
W. Mercer
F. Powers
R. H. Richards
D. Donohue
D. Spotton
C. E Hornel
G. Gilchrist
D. O'Connor
W. H. Kerr
Ed. Lee
W. Mastin
Thos. Nelson
W. Tempest
W. A. Scrimgeour
S. Lonsdale
Chas Nolan
S. Waddell
J. Dark
M. McNeish
John Leader
Wm. Harness
R. Beverley
W. C. Killaway
Robt. Gracy
J. Tuton
T. Heaslip
J. W. Winters
F. McAvoy
A. Miller
H. Withers
A. Walker
G. Cornell
Thos. Taylor
S. Jex
T. Barker
W. H. Morse

"F" COMPANY, PORTSMOUTH.

Maj. Kelly
Lieut. Hubbell
2nd Lieut. Bliss
Colour Sergt. Atkins
Sergt. Nicholson
Fitzgibbon
A. Atkins
Corp. Davidson
McWaters
Baiden
Lce.-Corp. Bennett
Evans
McCammon
Private Atkins
Burke
Cambridge, sr
Cambridge, jr
Connolly
Crozier
Devan
Dennison
Ellis
J. Fitzgibbons
Geo. Hickey
Horsey
Howell
Hooper
Jones
Kemp
Hakskis
Lewis
Mehan
Murphy
McNeil
Newman
Jos. Payne
Fred. Payne
Richardson
Shannonhouse
Schermerhorn
Smyth
Wishart
Bgl. Lake

"G" COMPANY.

Capt. T. Burke
Lieut. Brennan
J. Weller, R.M.C.
Colour Sergt. Percy Myles
Sergt. A. F. Tytler
Geo. K. Marks
Corp. H. B Rogers
S. Hendren
Jacob Roberts
Private T. Graham
J. T. Cochrane
W. Tanner
S. Crowe
Wm. Wedlock
Jas. McFee
A. C. Ross
Marshall
Weir
D. McFarlane
A. Phillips
M. Seery
H. Hogan
Hugh Hill
Chas. Wood
J. J. Cummings
M. Brackenbridge
Jas. Thompson
J. Anderson
M. H. Rigks
M. Sedgwick
Private John Lynch
Samuel Bell
J. A. Hannah
R. G. Keily
T. Billings
W. Reynolds
W. Crowter
C. Desfood
C. Parks
S. R. Rush
Wm. B. Browne
E. Daly
R. Downer
M Mathison
Wm. Crook
G. Crowter
Bgl. J. Beach

"H" COMPANY, BELLEVILLE.

Capt. E. Harrison
Lieut. H. A. Yeomans
P. J. Bell
Colour Sergt. A. H. Smith
G. Wilson
E. G. Bowen
Sergt. Watts
Corp. S. J. Hilton
P. Howe
Private L. Sager
Geo. Young
McTaggart
Reid
Stapley
Shercliffe
Wm. Gooch
W. A. Darch
James W. Howard
James Rowe
A. F. Thompson
E. Vincent
Barnard Hodgins
W. Hulley
M. Rogers
Jos. Bay
Jas. Austin
G. B. Powell
W. A. Street
Geo. Bay
Alfred Way
N. N. Patterson
G. E. Patterson
Geo. Seeds
R. McStephen
J. Prideaux
J. Thompson
N. Brenn
W. Auger
D. Lott
Jaffield Defian
Geo. Wescott
Geo. Winters
Bgl. J. Williams Lake

Col. Otter's Column.

Brigr., Lt.-Col. W D. Otter
Chf. of Stff., Supt. W. M. Herchmer

Brig.-Maj., Lt. J. W. Sears
Brig Q. M., Capt G. W. Mutton, Q.O.R.

Brig. Sur., Dr. F. W. Strange

"B" Battery Royal Canadian Artillery.

Maj. C. J. Short
Capt. A. A. Farley
Act. Q.M. R. W. Rutherford
Lieut. Wm. Finlay
O. Pelletier †
E. Chinic
J. E. Prower
Sergt.-Maj., Mast.-Gun. C. Lavie
Sergt.-Inst. W. Kerley
O. Harman
Act. Q.M.S. Bomb. Savignac and McNamee
Hosp. Sergt. G. Labatt
Sergt. A. Walsh
Gaffney
Anderson
Corp. Godreau
Geo. Baugh
Morton †
Wm. Jordan
Act.-Corp. Far. Barclay
Bomb. Williams
Lapointe
Genereux
Saunders
Doyle
Wilkinson
Mahoney
Willis
Walleck
Fellows
Blackhall
Act.-Bomb. Gordon
Coulcombe
Trump. Hamaan
Gunner Adair
Besancon

Gunner Bowers
Bussiere
Clerault
Clements
Dupuis
Dwyer
Dyon
Drew
Emond
Edwards
Fecteau
Fellows
Fraser
Grant
Gardiner
Hunt
Hughes
Jolin
Kennedy
Kelly
Lynch
Lowe
Leader
Lapointe
Lonsdale
Morin
Murphy
Murphy
Murphy
Montgomery
Malin
McCormick
McKay
Marquis
O'Donnell
Macdonald
Pearson
Penketh

Gunner Parks
Prevost
Pettigrew
Ruthven
Reynolds †
Robinson
Reynolds
Stevens
Sayers
Swallow
Stephenson
Sillifant
Stewart
Sellwood
Smith
Thorne
Wheatley
Wilson
Fawcett
Driver Buckley
Burns
Robinson
Meade
Madden
Shelley
Willis
Stewart
Houde
Love
Doyle
Kelly
Cooper
Smith
Reid
Keogh
Suddaby
Rousseau
Thompson

Mounted Police.

Supt. W. M. Herchmer
L. R. Neale
Insp. S. B. Steele
W. S. Morris
Sergt.-Maj. M. J. Kirk
T. Wattam
Staff Sergt. A. B. MacKay
S. Warden
R. Riddell
Sergt. T. H. Lake
W. Piercy
W. C. Stewart

Sergt. A. Stewart
F. Bagley
G. Fraser
J. H. Ward †
J. C. Gordon
W. Fury †
G. E. Grogan
Corp. G Macleod
W. H. T. Lowry *
J. Richards
C. Chasse
W. P. McConnell

Corp H. J. A. Davidson
F Fowler
J. Collins
A. E. C. McDonnell
W. V. Goold
Con C. Allen
T Ashbaugh
H T. Ayre
A. Bingham
R. J. Browne
Ptk Burke *
S. M. Blake

Mounted Police—Continued.

Con. S. Bond
A. R. Brooks
R. A. G. Bell
J. P Bunt
J Ballendine
G. Cassault
T. Cochran
A. Cole
C. Cole
T. Craig
D. Davis
J. Dawson
J. C Degear
A. Dorion
R. Dowsley
O. Dufresne
J. A. Duncan
A. R. Dunn
A. L. Davidson
A. Davidson
A. R. Ayre
O. A. Dubreuil
C. Eales
J. Edwards
T. F. Ellis
F. O. Elliot *
L. Fontaine
J. A Fraser
W. H. Forde
F. Fane
F. Garlow
D. Gairns
T. J. Gibson *
F G. Gribble
C. Grogan
J. Guthrie
R. Guthrie
E. S. Glassford
W. Gilpin
F. Goodwin
W. T. Halbhaus
W. F. E. Hayne
H. Hetherington
Hy Hope
Jno. Hynes

Con. J Holenback
J. C. Hartstone
F Hyles
G. R. Hall
S Hetherington
W. Jackson
F. Jarvis
S. M. Jarvis
G. P Jones
W Kerr
Jno. Kerr
C. Knight
P. Kerr
D. Lavalley
C. Lavoie
F. Lawton
H. Loscombe
W Lunnin
W. Latimer
W. Lewis
R. W. Lloyd
J. B. R. Lander
G. B. Lanaway
M. H. Meredith
T. Milward
A. E. O. Montgomery
E. Morrow
A. Murray
W. Murray
T. McAlister
J. McDermot
T. McKewan
A. McDonald
D A. E McDonell
A. McMillan
W McQuarrie
T. Macleod
M. T Millar
A. Moody
W. Morgan
J. Millar
R. Morton
W. R. McMinn
D. McRae †
J. Patrick

Con. G. Pembridge
W. Perkin
W. Perrin
W. H. Porter
F. E. Prior
S. Percival
G. Purches
E. Percival
J. A. Reid
T. J. Redmond
C. Ross
W. J. Ritchie
J. Ross
W. H. Routledge
A. H. Rumball
J. R. Royce
E. F. Racey
F. H. Richardson
J. B. Robinson
D. Scott
W. Shaw
J. A. Simons
P. W. Simons
W. J. Spencer †
G. V. Stevenson
Hy. Storer
Wm. Straton
D. Sullivan
W. C. Swinton
H Spencer
W. Sunderland
A. Taylor
A. Watson
C. H. Wells
T. White
M. Williams
A. H. Woodhouse
O. Worthington
J. Wright
J Walton
T. H Waring
J. Whipps
J. Wright
E F. Davis
P. Hawkins

"C" School of Infantry.

Lieut. Wadmore
Serg.-Maj. Spackman †
Quar.-Mas. Sergt Swann
Serg. Dixon
Borland
Corp. Belaw
Dee
Montjean
Griffith
Bgl. Atherton
Foulkes *
McLeod
Private Adair
Auburn
Beaumont
Brambles

Private Burbidge
Creaney
Davison
Dawe
Dent
Edwards
Elliget
Elmore
Evans
Fenton
Gilmore
Hayes
Keeley
Kenmore
Kerfut
Lee

Private J. MacDonald
McFadgen
Pigeon
Phillips
Saunders
Thomas
Thurston
Tipton
Tuft
Westwood
Wilson
Weaver
Yondell
Zachariah
Zwick

Queen's Own Rifles.

Lieut.-Col A. A. Miller
Maj. D. H. Allan
Adjt., Capt. J M. Delamere
Sgn. J. W. Lesslie
Act.-Paymas. Jas. R. Heakes
Act.-Q.M E. W. H. Blake
Rev. Geo. E. Lloyd
Sergt.-Maj. P. Cunningham
Q.M.S. J. W. Burns
Bgl.-Maj. C. Swift
Hosp. Sergt. E. W. Fere
Ord. R. Clk. F. Walker
Pion. Sergt. W. Harp
Sig. Sergt. F. Strachan
Mast. Cook. R. M. Williams
Amb. Corp. A. Lee

NO. 1 COMPANY.

Capt. Thos. Brown
P. D. Hughes
Lieut. A Y. Scott
2nd Lieut. H. W. Mickle
Colour Sergt. G. E. Cooper †
Sergt. F. Kennedy
W. W. S. Howard
L. D. Merrick
Corp. E. Thompson
C. Alridge
J. A. McMaster
H. Howell
W. Bryden
Bgl. J. Wood
Private F. Bartlett
E. Beacon
R. Beekman
F. Brodie
J. Connell
F. Cavanagh
J. Campbell
G. Creighton
C. Dunning
J. H. Davis
W. D. Dunford
T. Gardner
F. A. Howard
A. Hutchinson
E. Lye
A. Letts
H. C. Lumbers
J. G. Marconson
H. Merryda
W. McClelland
W. J. Massey
— McBurney
J. O'Brien
J. Pirie
R. Pearce
S. G. Plunkett
F. J. Pangburn
J. Pearson
Private F. W. Pollard
H. Peters
J. Richards
W. Sawyer
P. Seager
A. E. Statton
J. D. Spence
W. F. Sharp
H. Swait
J. C. Scott
W. Tilley
J. Thompson
C. A. Varey †
J. W. Williams
G. W. Watts †
G. Warr
J. Warcin
Sig Corp. Geo. Higginbotham
Pri. E. Morell
F. C. Hurst
W. H. Batting
A. L. Torrence
Bgl. Corp. W. Bryden
Private S. Brown
J. Hill
Pion. G. Doctor
Sig. Corp. C. H. Fuller

NO. 2 COMPANY.

Capt. J. C. McGee
Lieut. R. S. Cassels
2nd Lieut. A. B. Lee
Color Serg. J. McLaren
Serg. T. A. E. World
A. Robertson
T. W. Gibson
Corp. H. McPherson
T. Hector
H. R. Boulton
F. J. Laidlaw
C. H. Fuller
Bgl. F. Elliot
Private J. Agnew
A. J. Boyd
J. L. Boyd
G. L. Bailey
G. W. Bailey
W. Bowden
G H. Broughall
G. H. Clift
A. Canning
T. Caldwell
N. P. Dewar
R. G. Dewar
W. Despard
A. Dickson
J. F. Edgar
F. W. Fraser
J. S. C. Fraser †
J. Good
Private H. Gray
W. Gates
N. P. Ham
G. P. Ham
C. F. Harrison
R. N. Hackett
W. Harris
F. W. Hunter
A. D. Langmuir
W. Langmuir
R. Lowe
J. C. Mitchell
A. B. McKenzie
A. J. Murray
J. T. McLachan
T. A. McLean
W. McMaster
C M. Nelles
A. E. Phillips
W. R. Price
H. Preston
J. Piggott
S. D. Rogers
A. Ross
W A. Richardson
A. H. Scott
H. R. Tilley
L. Miller
Amb. Corp. Robarts
Private W. Verner
F. Bain
A. Smith
C. Ross
G. Brown
Pion. J. Brash
W. R. Bateson

NO. 3 COMPANY.

Capt. W C. McDonald
Lieut. H. Brock
2nd Lieut. J George
Colour Sergt. S. C. Mickle
J. F. Crean
Sergt. C. J. Townsend
E. Langtry
E. A. Thompson
Corp. W. H. Smith
W. D. McKay
F. A. Eddis
G. S. Lyon
Bgl. H. Swift
Private W. H. Alexander
W. D. Auldgo
R. Baldwin
J. A. Bingham
W. S. Burton
W. Cunningham
E. C. Costerton
W. D. Duncan
W. G. Damer

Queen's Own Rifles—Continued.

Private A. J. Flat
F. W. Fletcher
J. A. Forin
C. W. Gilmour
A. L. Gilpin
J. L. Geddes
J. F. Grierson
J. Hart
R. H. Harris
F. Jardine
H. S. Kenner
F. Knysett
W. H. Machaffe
A. A. MacMillan
G. S. Macdonald
W. J. Nelson
F. Pike
A. S. Porter
H. Rowland
G. Simpson
G. Stewart
J. Sanson
N. B. Sanson
C. E. Turner
J. D. Thorn
F. W. Thomas
J. M. Wright
J G. Whiteacre
F. W. Winter
F. M. Wade
W. Wallace
E. Williams
C. C. Winter
— Grundy
Sig.-Corp. J. A. Dingwall
Private J. Johnston
Private E. Boyd
G. Fraser
G. Bruckshaw
J. Davidson
Pion. S. E. Cunningham
J. Bromley

NO. 4 COMPANY.

Capt. H. E. Kersteman
Lieut. E. F. Gunther
2nd Lieut. G. H Baird
Colour Sergt. P. W. Hewgill
Sergt. G. Lewis
F. Robertson
H. B. Cronyn
S. C. McKell
Corp. W. G. Kennedy
G. H. Neodler
A. B. Thompson
L. H. Green
Bgl. T. Ashlee
Private A. Acheson
E. C. Acheson
D. Anderson
J. Bleakley
H. J. Bowman
J. B. Bruce
A. D. Crooks
R. J. Chrystal
J. Cooper
A. D. Creasor
D. W. Crowley
R. P. Doogan
J. A. Duff
T. E. Elliott
Private C. F. Grand
C. C. Gray
T. Home
W. C. Lee
G. E Lloyd
C. L. Lugsdin
T. Marshall
C. Matthews
P. W. H. McKeown
H. McLaren
J. H McLennan
G. Miles
R. Morrison
A. G. Morphy
W. B. Nesbitt
C. Norris
C. C. Owen
C. J. Patterson
G. Paterson
H. Perry
C. Postlethwaite
B. Prior
H. C. Ray
F. A. C. Redden
R. Ross
A. G. Smith
Sig.-Corp. J. H. Dinsmore
Private G. Brydon
J. Green
G. Birchall
W. B. Musson
T. Verner
Pion. J. Cameron
T. Doherty
T. Connor

Governor-General's Foot Guards.

Bat.-Maj. Capt. A. H. Todd
Lieut. H. H. O. Gray
2nd Lieut. W. Todd
Colour Sergt. C. F. Winter †
Staff Sergt. F. Newby
S. M. Rogers
Sergt. H. McB. Ross
P. B. Taylor
Corp. J. Dunnett
E. A. Nash
E. Taylor
Lce.-Corp. C. Tasker
T. Davis
W. H. Pardy
Bgl. A. Cowan
W. Modener
Private D. Anderson
B. H. Bell
Private E. J. Boucher
J. Borille
L. L. Brophy
H. P. Brummell
H. H. Cameron
J. Cassidy
H. L. Chepwell
A. Chester
J. Clark
F. H. Cunningham
J. Firth
T. Fuller
J. W. Hamilton
W. K. Humfrey
H. M. Jarvis
C. Kingsley
T Loonay
H. McCarthy
Private W. McCracken
D. McDonald
J. StC. McGuilkin
D. Matheson
H. H. May
J. V. May
J. Mullin
W. Osgoode *
J. W. Patterson
W. H. Patterson
A. T. Phillips
J. Rogers *
E. Ring
G. A. S. Sparks
J. D. Taylor
T. C. Weston
C. M. Wiggins

Battleford Rifles.

Capt. E. A. Nash
Lieut. T. Merrigold
L. C. Baker
Actg. Q.M.S. H. Gisborne
Sergt.-Maj. C. Smith
Sergt. D. O'Neal
J. Gagner
F. Otton
Corp. A. E. Johnston
C. M. Daisnias
W. Latorn
M. Young
Bgl. E. Gilbert
Private J. Atkinson
E. Bourassa
L. Boure
E. Burmelle
C. H. Cameron

Private M. Cote
C. Cunningham
G. Donovan
F. Durand
T. Forsyth
G. Gairdner
H. Jefferson
M. Lauzon
A. McKenzie
D. McKenzie
M. McKenzie
W. H. McKinley
D. McRae
W. McBeth
A Masse
A. Miller
J. Michaud
P. Ouillette

Private J. Potter
D. Ross
G. Sayers
W. Salisbury
K. Skelton
D. Smith
M. Smith
J. Stevenson
J. H. Sully
C. Williamson
C. White
R. C. Wyld
H. England
A. Dobbs *
H. Garrett
T. Stevenson
B. Fountain

Alberta Field Force.

Brigr., Maj.-Gen. T. Bland Strange
A.D.C., Lt. H. Bland Strange
Q.M.G. and Brigr.-Maj., Maj. Dale

Ass. Q.M.G., Capt. Palliser
Brig. Sgn., Dr. Pennyfather
Tr. and Sup. Off., H. Hamilton

Capt. J. Wright
Ass. Sup. Off., Sergt.-Maj. Beem
Mr. Desbrissay

The St. Albert Mounted Rifles.

Capt. Samuel Cunningham
Lieut. D. Maloney
2nd Lieut. O. Bellrose
Colour Sergt. A. Cunningham
Sergt. M. Gray
B. Pepin
Narcise Beaudry
Corp. E. Page
V. Laurence
Private J. B. L'Hiroudelle
F. G. Dumas
D. Courtpatte
John L'Hiroudelle
John Ladervute

Private Josia Courtpatte
Patrick Kelly
F. Beaudreau
Jeremy Huger
A. Gray
Charles Bourgard
Michael Callio
Robert Bellrose
Julia Savord
Joseph Page
Edward Nault
Xavier L'Hiroudelle
Adolphus Rolland
Joseph Grey

Private Edward Cary
F. Boisgouten
Baptiste Boushau
Daniel Loyer
John Callioux
Jos. Chellifoux
Numan Vandal
Baptiste Supranout
Gabriel Belcour
J. O'Donnell
Wm. McKenna
Peter Donald
John Boldin
John Laronde

Steel's Scouts.

Maj. S. B. Steel
Capt. J. K. Oswold
Lieut. J. A. Crogell
Sergt.-Maj. W. Wilson
Sergt. G. B. Borradale
J. Butlin
Corp. T. McClelland
R. Broderick
Trooper J. W. Alley
F. Annand
T. F. Anderson
L. A. Ahlonnis

Trooper J. L. Benoit
E. Cole
W. Findley
J. Fisk
W. Fisk
T. G. Fisk
R. Gibson
J. D. Garaul
G. A. Gouin
E. A. Hayes
W. R. Hunt
J. Hursell

Trooper W. Huston
W. H. Ingles
W. Jardine
S. B. Kendig
W. Lyne
W. Murray
F. Miller
W. McManus
W. McQuarrie
R. McFarlain
D. A. Macpherson
W. A. McKellar

Steel's Scouts—Continued.

Trooper W. T. Owens
F. Owen
W. T. Oke
W. F. Pew
A. P. Philipps
W. D. Patton
J. Rogers
A. L. Smith
A. J. Semons

Trooper W. Scott
C. W. H. Sanson
J. N. Simms
L. Trepanier
A. Walsh
W. West
T. M. Williams
W. Ibbleson

Trooper W. Stiff
J. Beldon
J. A. Petrie
W. F. Spearin
F. Walters
W. R. West
G. E. White
P. Young

65th Mount Royal Rifles.

Lieut.-Col. J. Ouimet
Maj., Lieut.-Col. Hughes
Maj. C. D igas
Paymaster C. Bossée
Surgeon L. Paré
Ass. Surgeon F. Simard
Chap. P. Prevost
Q.M. A. Larocque
Adjt., Capt. J. Robert
Drill Inst. LaBranche
Staff Sergt. J. Donais
L. Labelle
Bgl.-Maj. J. Arthur
Hosp. Sergt. A. Lepine

NO. 1 COMPANY.

Capt. J. Astell
Lieut. A. Plinquet
Sergt. J. Beaudoin
Corp. A. Robichaud
E. Latulippe
E. Beaudoin
Pion. Corp. E. Jobin
Private H. Picard
J. Parent
N. Cadieux
A. Ouimet
L. Chalifoux
G. Aumond
T. Robert
A. Michaud
L. Michold
R. Capels
L. Goulet
C. Handin
F. Belanger
A. Chartrand
A. Marsau
A. Bourgeois
S. Conway
J. Lanthur
C. Daoust
N. Robert
G. Labelle
N. Brown
O. Drolet
A. Narbonne

Private A. Longpie
A. Lanctot
R. Pepin

NO. 2 COMPANY.

Capt. J. DesTroismaisons
Lieut. G. DesGeorges
Sergt. C. Chaust
H. Davenport
C. Duchesnay
Corp. E. Porcheron
H. Nelson
Private Hotte
T. Bell
A. Beaudry
S. Desjardins
J. Fraser
J. Waller
D. Beaudoin
J. Westgate
N. Bourgeois
N. Guindon
J. McGowan
J. Adams
J. Scott
A. Daoust
H. Flanagan
W. Clark
N. Martel
H. Scott
J. Cawthorn
S. Desgagne
T. Trejeau
A. Moreau
J. Renaud
P. Joliceur
G. Conway
D. Bouthilier
J. Menard
J. Smart
B. Boucher de St. Denis

NO. 3 COMPANY.

Capt. E. Bauset
Lieut. C. Starnes
Sergt. N. Gauvreau

Sergt. J. Dusseault
Corp. A. Beaudin
E. Luperance
Private E. Souliere
J. Corbeil
J. Desglandin
J. Chartrand
J. Chapleau
L. Sauriele
J. Marcotte †
D. Forgue
C. Nadeau
P. Sawasin
A. Taylor
J. Marlin
J. Deslauriers
U. Viau
A. Merinau
A. Gagnon
A. Chamard
J. Seyrour
A. Boisoit
A. Laviolette
R. Huott
A. Brais
A. Brouning
E. Blais
J. Conolly
W. Prieur
A. Ritchie
E Houle
E. Maillet
J. Gaudette

NO. 4 COMPANY.

Capt. A. Roy
Lieut. A. Villeneuve
Sergt. J. Dubord
E. Houle
Sergt. P. Valiquette
Corp. E. Valleé
E. Pouliot
Private R Lecuyer
A. Monisette
G. Lessier
F. Carli
J. Gauthier

65th Mount Royal Rifles—Continued.

Private B. Rodier
A. Breyfuss
A. Fafard
T. Dufresne
D. Frasuri
A. Wilscam
A. Dumont
A. Bourdeau
A. Gravel
E. Lemay †
F. Pouliott
C. Grenier
N. Beaulne
Z. Despatie
J. Roy
A. Labele
T. Lortee
C. Gravel
N. Tiger
A. Paquette
E. Barry
A. Vilier
J. Martineau
S. Gascon

NO. 5 COMPANY.

Capt. G. Villeneuve
Lieut. B. Lafontaine
Sergt. A. D'Amour
A. Thibeault
S. Bennett
Corp. E. Desmoyers
J. Lafreniere
J. Barré
Private J. Stanton
T. Lafortune
J. Despateé
W. Beauchamp
F. Lessard
P. Cloutier
N. Lepine
N. Rivertez
R. Metcalf
F. Sheak
N. Mathieu
A. Andrews
H. Milot
S. Dudevoir
L Leduc
L. Jurias
A. Cowan
T. Belle
N. Valois
J. Geauvreau
A. Marceau
A. Robichand
A. Boucher
J. Pariseau
J. Morin
J. Whelan
Private A. Desroches
A. Dagenais
J. Lellier

NO. 6 COMPANY.

Capt. J. Ginnis
Lieut. P. Robert
Sergt C. Taille
L. Leclere
F. Mackay
Corp. L. Lapiene
E. Nolin
E. Hemee
Bgl. L. Bertrand
Private H. Perreault
G. Fournier
N. Gamon
L. Rose
H. Lalnir
J. Robillard
A. Blais
G. Reneaud
C. Boucher
T. Madjin
A. Arsineau
N. Angers
J. Laron
T. Clermont
A. Beardsell
M. Tourville
A. Rochon
O. Bertrand
T. Viau
H. Marvis
H. Langlois
W. Syria
R. Bow
E. Allard
T. Gauthier
N. Doucett
T. Duplessis
A. Bertrand
J. Lariviere
T. Laurin
T Dansereau
J. Chalifoux
T. Gagne
H. Champagne

NO. 7 COMPANY.

Capt. H. Prevost
Lieut. T. Doherty
Sergt. A. Labelle
Z. Hebert
T. Astell
Private A. Laframboise
E. Tefebore
J. Momette
J. Mariere
L. Fournier
Private M. Lamontagne
P. Mount
G. Moquin
D. Clifford
T. Kennedy
A. Theriault
N. Breux
A. Laberge
G. Smith
D. Canon
A. Kelly
O. Giroux
F. Bury
L. Sauriol
P. Huot
A. Marien
E. Terroux
A. Marisoin
L. Wilson
W. Fafard
A. Perreault
C. Cox
J. Polan
J. Audette
F. Brousseau
E. Lafontaine
A. Clendenning
N. Roche
A. Patterson
E. Remillard
P. Schinck

NO. 8 COMPANY.

Capt. L. Ettier
Lieut. J. Normandeau
Sergt. L. Favreau
N. Livernois
J. Gimzle
Private L. Favreau
J. Traynor
F. Deladurantayne
A. Leblanc
N. Picard
A. Levesque
A. Riendeau
M. Hennigan
N. Gervais
N. Lamarche
T. Quevellon
M. Deslauriers
J. Descastiass
E. Leclerc
N. Desmartiau
A. Renesseau
J. Viger
A. Lippe
C. Wilson
J. Lemoneaux
J. Sarchagrin
D. Menard
J. Rupert
D. Erancouer
E. Vervais

92nd Winnipeg Light Infantry.

Lieut.-Col. W. O. Smith
Maj. J. Lewis
W. B. Thibeaudeau
Paymstr E. P. Leacock
Adjt., Cpt. C. Constantine
Q. M. R. La Touche Tupper
Sgn. J. P. Pennefather
Asst. Sgn. S. T. Macadam
Sergt.-Maj. P. Lawlor
Q.M.S. G. P. Bliss
Ord. Rm. Clk. A. Oxley
Brig.-Maj. G. King

NO. 1 COMPANY.

Capt. W. R. Pillsworth
Lieut D. Sutherland
2nd Lieut. R. G. McBeth
Colour-Sergt. H. Sutherland
Sergt A. Polson
J. Pritchard
Corp. A. F. Peacock
J. R. Sutherland
A. Pritchard
Bgl. G. Wilkes
Private J. R. Atinson
R. E. Baths
J. Bigley
J. G. Clark
E. F. Duke
H. Farel
J. Fairclaugh
T. Fidler
G. Flett
A. R. Graham
C. F. Graham
J. Hackland
J. H. Harper
R. J. Hopper
E. E. Harris
A. Leash
J. H. Leach
M. Lambert
A. Linklater
R. Merritt
J. C. Millan
D. McDonald
C. McDonald
G. McKay
W. McLennon
J. C. Richards
M. Ritchey
J. M. Sutherland
A. Sutherland
J. E. Slater
G. Tait
H. Wolf
A. Bigham
G. S. Palmer
J. F Dennis
C Wilson

NO. 2 COMPANY.

Capt. W B. Canavan
Lieut. G. B. Books
J. Thirkell
Sergt. F. H. Fisher
W. H. Nesbitt
G. Rice
Corp. E. Cawley
W. Waugh
A. M. Wilson
Bgl. R. Skinner
Private C. Berry
J. T. Black
W. Boyd
R. Brownlee
J. Campbell
W. Clarke
T. Crawford
T. W. Cross
J. Evans
J. Fitzgerald
E. H. Harris
T. Hill
W. H. Judd
G. Kahler
A. Kirkpatrick
C. McBride
H. McKay
A. F. McLean
E. Moody
C. A. Moore
G. Nicholson
S. A. Rice
W. Sangster
— Shaw
C. Stafford
R. Sully
T. Thwaites
S. Weir, sr
S. Weir. jr
J. O. Williams
O. White
A. W. Weldon
G. Willis
S. A. Roth
C. Powell

NO. 3 COMPANY.

Capt. F. I. Clarke
Col.-Sergt. C. J. Hollands
Sergt. J. C. McKay
X. A. Parsons
Corp. W. H. Thomas
D. Cranston
J. Laurie
Bgl. J. Weale
Private R. Abbott
C. Bathew
G. Butler

Private D. R. Bremner
G. Brooks
T. Bailie
B. Dolan
J. Douglas
T. Davidson
J. Davis
J. Cameron
H. Flint
F. Garnham
F. J. Golding
W. Hutton
T. Head
W. Haygarth
J. Johnson
H. Lynch
J. Leonard
D. McDonald
J. T. Miller
G. Middleton
J. McPhail
A. Oxlade
J. Passey
J. Pulsford
T. Pollard
G. T. Richards
D. Ring
H. Roberts
W. Rutherford
D. Sullivan
J. Sullivan
J. Slodgell
H. Shephard
A. White

NO. 5 COMPANY.

Capt. A. Wade
Colour-Sergt. C. A. Roberts
Sergt. H. Acheson
Corp. F. Exham
W. D. La Touche
H. Sinclair
Private F. Morey
J. McDonald
J. Stothers
J. Whitaker
E. W. Freeman
T. Hervey
W. Rooney
J. Abbott
R. L. Mose
J. R. Sinclair
F. Ganier
F. A. Stewart
F. G. Calvert
H. J. Ellwood
S. Anderson
E. McKeen
D. McKeen
J. J. Harris

92nd Winnipeg Light Infantry—Continued.

Private F. Ennings
H. Beverley
F. Stapp
W. King
J. Hall
J. Anderson

Private J. McConnell
G. Wilson
M. Miller
E. W. Leys
T. Parks

Private A. Freer
A. Clarke
E. C. Clarke
H. Imlach
F. Wright

Governor General's Body Guard.

Stationed at Humboldt.

Maj., Lt.-Col. G. T. Denison
Campn. Maj. O. Dunn
Capt. C. Denison
Actg.-Adjt. Lt. V. N. Merrit
2nd Lieut. F. Fleming
T. B. Browning
Asst.-Surg. J. B. Baldwin
Act.-Q.M. C. Mair
Hosp. Sergt. W. J. Bain
Q.M.S. W. Lilley
Far. Sergt. F. B. De Chadenedes

"A" TROOP.

Sergt. C. Grainger
J. McGregor
H. J. M. Wilson
Corp. R. Donaldson
A. E. S. Thompson
H. Hancock
Trooper A. Stretton
E. Hershaw
G. C. Pearsall
J. Woodburn
P. Milly
G. Pearson
P. Newton
E. Shinson
R. Grainger
J. S. Kaith

Trooper F. Flint
J. Walsh
F. W. Kane
J. F. McMillan
A. Risch
D. McIntyre
W. H. Craig
H. C. Simms
A. Derth
T. Bills
S. E. Guest
J. Bennett
H. Drury
A. E. Denison
E. Black
W. Coldham
W. Duglas
Tptr. J. Murphy
Tpr. F. Bacon

"B" TROOP.

Sergt.-Maj. G. Watson
Sergt. J. Bailey
J. Watson
Corp. J. Smith
J. B. Eager
R. Conie
W. D. McNab
W. Hirst

Corp. C. G. Watt
W. Latham
M. Stern
Trooper J. Ritchie
T. Anderson
D. O'Connell
J. Nelson
R. E. Bell
Geo. Corned
P. Doherty
N. C. Weatherston
W. Felton
D. McKay
M. Bogan
E. Klein
G. Hunter
W. Lilley
F. Chadwick
J. Bain
J. Hamilton
W. Beran
G. Sparrow
A. Richardson
H. Liley ‡
S. Harvie
T. Menagh
J. G. A. Gray
N. E. Scholfield
H. D. Bridiner
W. D. Baby

York and Simcoe Rangers.

Stationed at Fort Qu'Appelle; advanced to Humboldt.

Lieut.-Col. W. E. O'Brien
Major, Lieut.-Col. R. Tyrwhitt
Major, Lieut.-Col. A. Wyndham
Adjt., Capt. J. Ward
Paymaster W. Hunter
Qr. Master L. Smith
Sgn. D. G. L. McCarthy
Chap. Gilmour
Sergt. Major S. A. Dougall
Q.-M.-Sergt. C. Collett

Paymstr.-Serg. F. McGreal
Hsp. Sergt. R. W. McCanky
O. R. Clk. Lang
Bgl.-Maj. Ward

NO. 1 COMPANY.

Maj. J. J. Graham
Capt. J. Landriggan
Lieut. F. Bunting
Colour-Sergt. J. McMullen
Sergt. F. Boyd

Sergt. A. Kiel
Corp. A. Caston
H. Bushnell
W. Healey
Private W. Boyd
J. Burridge
A. Barrand
J. Caston
H. Christie
D. Clark
J. Clark
W. Dell

York and Simcoe Rangers—Continued.

Private A. Dion
J. Dains
M. Davis
R. Delaney
S. Fasten
J. Griffiths
T. Hemmengway
G. Hemmengway
T. Schwartz
R. Stewart
G. Tate
J. Tunkey
H. Toschke
M. McDonald
G. Hazzard
W. Hutton
W. Hudson
D. Hebner
T. Lawlor
W. Weade
M. McCarthy
F. Musgrove
W. May
F. Nealley
J. Nealley
D. Nealley
S. Rathwell
G. Sheffield
G. Stockhill

NO. 2 COMPANY.

Major Burnett
Lieut. T. Drinkwater
2nd Lieut. K. Burnett
Colour-Sergt. W. S. Dyker
Sergt. Salons
Stewart
Corp. Crockford
Reid
Dunham
Bgl. Lemes
Private Bell
Bennett
Blair
Barclay
Banting
Barker
Cowles
Donne
Darach
Elliott
Fisher
Greer
Gibson
Jordan
Kelley
Lemmon
Leetch
Hogg
Holland
Holden
Private Lemmin
McIntyre
S. McDonald
McCabe
Odell
Nelson
Nunn
Rochester
Smith
Sproule
Trebenby
Thomas
Wiggins
Wood
Withers
Williamson
White

NO. 3 COMPANY.

Capt. A. Leadlay
Lieut. Shannon
Ramsay
Colour-Sergt. M. Dougall
Sergt. W. Campbell
R. Kirkup
Corp. Halliday
Holdsworth
Sneath
Bgl. Cuthbert
Private McConkey
Appleby
D. N. Armstrong
Bennett
Curtis
Dodds
Harvey
Haylett
Hebener
Jacobs
Jennett
Kavanagh
McDonough
Monroe
Moore
McDougall
Marsden
McCreight
McIntyre
Orchard
Peacock
Perkins
Patchelle
Symes
Sydsworth
Spenser
Tracy
Tomlinson
Tuck
Webber
W. Dell

NO. 4 COMPANY.

Capt. Campbell
Lieut Spoy
Lennon
Colour Sergt. Pickens
Sergt. McDermott
Gathrie
Corp. Pollock
Cook
C. Wickers
Private Adams
Agnew
Ayres
J. Bateman
S. Bateman
Biggs
Black
Brooke
Campton
Collins
Close
Cooper
Finlay
Gibson
Gilroy
Hall
Jones
Labunta
McNaught
Martin
E. Parker
W. Parker
Riddell
Robinson
Rogers
Smart
Scott
Smith
Segurt
Timmons
Whiteside
Willoughby
Wilson
Woods

NO. 5 COMPANY.

Capt. L. T Thompson
Lieut. G. Vennell
G. Sutherland
Colour-Sergt. Rideout
Brown
Sergt. Smith
Foote
Corp. Bell
T. W. Malcomb
T. Gilmore
Bgl. Slatherly
Private A. Armstrong
Brown
Barry

York and Simcoe Rangers—Continued.

Private Coulter
Cox
Crawford
Cairns
Donoghue
Foote
Felstead
Ford
Gray
Goodwin
Graham
Gilmore
Gould
Hutton
Hands
Kirkpatrick
Laird
Lindsay
Lucas
Margach
Oliver
Patton
Powers
A. Potter
G. Potter
Phypers
Rideout
Stewart
Shannon
Spaulding
Shirton
P. J. Smith ‡
W. Smith †
Theobald
Woods
Waterstone

NO. 6 COMPANY.

Capt. G. H. C. Brooke
Lieut. Symons
Ashworth
Colour- ergt. Fraser
Sergt. Rennington
Greatis
Corp. Bell
Greatis
Greno
Bgl. McMullen
Palmer
Private Adams
Brady
Barrett
Connors
Churchill
Clumphitt
Cracknell
Cruikshank
Crawford

Private Dillon
Dixon
Dowling
Enright
Emerson
Fontaine ‡
Hawarth
Henry
Hoodless ‡
Hogg
Husband
Lafferty
Lansdell
Marshall
McLean
Oliver
Pritchard
Prior
Stewart
Suart *
Sutton
Studholme
Torrance
Tippins
Terry
Woodhouse
Ferrmantle

NO. 7 COMPANY.

Capt. Smith
Lieut. Booth
Fleury
Colour-Sergt. Taylor
Sergt. Price
Ego
Corp. Farr
Montgomery
Hand
Private Andrews
Bowser
Bellinger
Baldwin
Burns
Crockard
Crosley
Connell
Cuttell
Cockburn
Crawford
Durich
Dent
Ellison
Ego
Grindley
Hewitt
Hand
Harman
Homer

Private Lyons
Long
Moore
McLeod
Mundell
Matt
Ough
O'Brien
Pugh
Pring
Smith
Stonehouse
Tetley
Taylor
Wooding
J. Young
T. Young

NO. 8 COMPANY.

Maj. Wayling
Lieut. Leslie
Allan
Colour Sergt. Kavanagh
Sergt Bogart
Wernham
Corp. Keith
Piper
Terry
Private Armstrong
Adamson
Beller
Blencoe
Flintoff
Fenton
Gray
Hewitt
Hollingshead
King
Kettle
Lowe
Longhurst
Lippard
Mitchell
Manners
Miller
Peak
Pegg
Rigsley
Sloan
Taylor
Tansley
Thompson
M. T rry
C. Wernham
J. Wernham
J. West
Waston
Younge

7th Fusiliers.

Stationed at Clark's Crossing and Telegraph Coulee.

Lieut.-Col. W. De R. Williams
Maj. A. M. Smith
W. W. Gartshore
Paymstr. D. Macmillan
Adjt., Lieut. G. M. Reid
Surgeon J. M. Fraser
Q.M. J. B. Smyth
Chap. Rev. W. S. Ball
Sergt.-Maj. R. J. Byrne
Q.M.S. J. Jury
R.M.S. A. R. Smith
O.R. Clerk J. Conroy
Hosp. Sergt. A. Campbell
Bgl.-Maj. J. Page

NO. 1 COMPANY.

Capt. T. Beattie
Lieut. H. Bapty
Colour Sergt. A. Jackson
Sergt. F. Beecroft
Lce.-Sergt. A. Leslie
Corp. C. T. Williams
Bgl. R. Coughlin
A. Reed
Private C. Pugh
A. Armstrong
H. Shabacker
E. Harrison
F. Saddler
W. Wright
G. Rogers
G. Chapman
E. Higham
G. N. Drew
McLeod
McKenzie
Hesson
G. Greenslade
L. T. Philips
J. T. Martin
T. Bayley
H. J. Armstrong
W. Hodgins
H. Pemington
J. Smith
J. Rawson

NO. 2 COMPANY.

Capt. F. H. Butler
Lieut. A. G. Chisholm
2nd Lieut. R. W. Creig
Colour-Sergt. T. Goold
Sergt. J. W. Whitlock
T. O'Rourke
W. Catter
Lce.-Sergt. D. Dyson
Corp. J. Goold
W. Brown
Lce.-Corp. H. L. Graham
W. Andrews
Bgl. J. Watson
C. Channer
Private A. M. Wilson
W. Smithson
H. McRoberts
J. Ford
H. Arbuckle
T. Walker
J. W. Johnson
J. F. Gray
H. Westeway
P. Neil
W. D. Croft
J. Harding
J. Lozier
T. R. Harwood
T. Livesley
W. Bearen
W. Ferguson
G. Davies
A. Somerville
Davieson
P. Breman
W. Barlow
J. R. Matthews

NO. 3 COMPANY.

Lieut. B. Bagan
Colour-Sergt. Annandson
Sergt. T. Anglin
Corp. T. Graham
W. Wanless
W. M. Kirkindale
Lce.-Corp. T. A. Fysh
H. H. Dignam
J. Muirhead
Bgl. B. Screaton
M. Keman
Private F. Pouley
G. Jones
C. H. Pennington
J. A. Burns
R. W. Atkinson
F. Hanson
J. McCrail
C. S. Pettit
W. Mercer
H. Wright
A. E. Smyth
W. S. Proctor
S. Lancaster
T. Moore
R. Gibson
Private L. Hyttemanch
W. H. Cooper
C. W. Alison
S. Lawrence

NO. 4 COMPANY.

Capt. T. H. Tracy
Lieut. C. F. Cox
2nd Lieut. H. Payne
Colour-Sergt. A. McDonald
Sergt. W. Owens
M. W. Greggor
Lce.-Corp. W. D. Mills
Corp. S. Love
H. G. McBeth
N. A. Meyer
Bgl. T. Coughlin
T. Watson
Private T. H. Carey
W. D. Carneigie
J. W. Cowan
H. Davis
R. H. Dignam
C. D. Gower
E. P. Gower
G. L. Garnett
J. R. Greig
Henderson
R. Howard
B. Humble
R. Ironsides
P. N. Labatt
R. E. Lee
F. L. Leonard
W. Martin
G. Mitchell
H. McCarley
J. M. McCormick
J. F. Moore
H. McCardy
J. Pennington
C. E. B. Reid
W. A. Rhodes
G. R. Smyth
R. Smith
P. M. Smith
G. Westland
P. M. Webb
H. Hartshorn

NO. 5 COMPANY.

Capt. R. Dillon
Lieut. J. A. Hesketh
Colour-Sergt. G. Jacobs
Sergt. J. Summers
G. Neilson
Lce.-Sergt. H. Rowland
Corp. Field
G. F. Apted

7th Fusiliers—Continued.

Bgl. R. Henderson
J. Smith
Private R. A. Best
C Beethan
T. Cassaday
J. Coivil
E. Dickinson
G. Hall
T. Howell
W. Hayden
J. D. Jacobs
J. Johnston
J. Keannelly
T. Martin
E. Morcartay
J. Moysee
W. McDonald
A. McNamara
F. McNamara
H. A. McCausland
J. Norfolk
D. Nottley
J. Pedey
J. Quick
H. Rolfe
J. Sinnett
H. Tennant
H. Thwaite
J. Walton
T. Walton
T. Whitehead
G. Wright.

NO. 6 COMPANY.

Capt. S. F. Peters
Lieut. S. A. Jones
Colour-Sergt. J. Line
Sergt. J. Harris
J. W. Stansfield
Corp. R. P. Black
J. T. Hannigan
J. T. Thomas
Bgl. J. Russell
S. Weir
Private C. Bates
W. Brown
H. Clarke
E. Clarke
T. Collins
W. Connell
B. Crow
J. Crawford
W. Burly
Drennan
J. Grant
H. Mills
J. Keenay
Land
G. Lovell
T. Martin
A. C. O'Brien
A. M. O'Brien
H. Prairie
C. Thomas
A. Wilson
L. Wright
T. Mills
J. H. Farrall

NO. 7 COMPANY.

Capt. E. McKenzie
2nd Lieut. J. H. Pope
Colour-Sergt. A. Borland
Sergt. J. T. Lynch
F. Fulton
Lce-Sergt. W. G. Harrison
Corp. F. Lynam
S. A. Parkinson
Lce.-Corp. S. Borland
W. P. Essex
G. Terry
Bgl. W. Judges
J. Welsh
Private C. Allison
J. B. Banell
W. Brazen
W. J. Blackburn
J. Dickens
V. Duval
J. Hood
P W. Hutchison
W. McCutcheon
S. McCary
J. McPherson
J. McDonald
F. P. Pickles
W. Pate
R. J. Robertson
D. Steele
W. Smith
P. Walsh
Whittaker
Woodall
E. Dayton
C. H. Gould
W. J. Armstrong
R. Hymers
F. W. Mitchell

Quebec Cavalry School Corps.

Stationed at Touchwood Hills.

Lieut.-Col. J. F. Turnbull
Adjt., Lt. E. H. F. Howard
Lieut. F. L. Lessard
Sergt. Maj. Geo. Baxter
Q.M.S. W. Quigley
Stff-Sergt. W. Charlewood
Sergt. A. Barker
J. Hamel
A. D'Orsonnins
Corp. A. LeFrancois
G. Wedgery
Lce.-Corp. J. Fowler
Tptr. A. Methot
A. Symes
J. O'Donnell
Trooper H. Bartlett
Trooper H. Berny
C. Bland
O. Brooke
W. Cormor
A. Corneil
D. Davidson
J. De La Salle
R. Dodds
P. Flamand
J. Goudreau
C. Guay
T. Gormley
T. Hardy
J. Hewer
J. Kelly
R. Kennedy
Trooper M. Lemieux
G. Leonard
E. Lepine
G. Lewis
J. Morency
T. Munro
J. McDougall
W. McIntyer
P. Nolin
J. Shiels
G. Sheward
M. Smythe
J. Stanton
E. Statham
J. Vanie
V. Vanie

91st Battalion.

Stationed at Troy, afterwards moved to Fort Qu'Appelle.

Lieut.-Col. T. Scott
Maj. D. H. McMillan
S. Mulvey
Paymstr., Capt. W. Copeland
Adjt., Capt. R. W. A. Rolph
Q.M. W. H. Souck
Surgeon M. M. Seymour
Asst.-Surgeon G. S. Keele
Chap. Rev. W. H. L. Rowland
Insp. Mus., Capt. A. W. Lane
Int. Off., Lieut. F. W. Snow
Sergt.-Maj. Davis
Q.M.S. C. R. Tuttle
P.M.S. Geo. Percival
O.R. Clerk F. V. Young
Hosp.-Sergt. A. H. Arden
Pion. Sergt. R. Mulvey

NO. 1 COMPANY.

Capt. J. A. Rowe
Lieut F. J. Bamford
2nd Lieut. W. H. Saunders
Colour-Sergt. F. W. Smith
Sergt. H. Carr
J. Jones
A. Hamilton
Corp. C. Midwinter
D. McArthur
J. A. Pears
Private A. Banham
J. L. Reid
M. Alexander
J. R. Ash
S. W. Benson
W. J. Bedding
J. Buchanan
J. Blondell
H. Barnes
B. Blondell
W. Calder
J. Canham
B. Clegg
E. S. Churchill
A. A. Craigh
A. Fisher
S. Goodmanson
C. B. Halpin
F. Hayes
J. Harrison
C. Harrington
J. Julius
G. Mawley
W. Maywood
J. McCarthy
R. F. McLean
M. McKellar
F. McCall
Private T. H. Hewitt
S. Nix
W. Murray
Hewitt
J. Rutledge
J. Smith
R. Steel
H. J. Simson
J. Sholdice
T. Scroggie
R. H. Scott
A. Williams
G. Rutton

NO. 2 COMPANY.

Capt. T. Wastie
Lieut. E. Smith
2nd Lieut. R. H. Hunter
Colour-Sergt. J. Taylor
Sergt. R. T. Evans
A. E. McDonnell
Corp. M. H. Gurney
F. J. Clarke
H. W. O. Roger
Private A. S. Armstrong
A. Adams
F. Aitkins
W. Baker
C. C. Burn
F. Basannach
A. J. Bramly
G. Boulton
C. Crofton
A. Campbell
J. Collins
E. Child
F. B. Graves
E. E. B. Groom
W. C. Gurney
J. L. Grant
W. S. Hamburgh
H. Hammond
J. Hatch
H. Hodkinson
G. Hanley
J. W. Johnson
E. Kirkman
E. J. Lindsay
E. W. Lowe
J. Matthews
L. H. Menchin
A. McCallum
A. W. Prouce
R. G. Porter
R. Pope
R. J. Ramsay
J. Stewart
J. Swift
Private R. H. W. Tew
R. B. Urmston
R. J. Vance
J. C. Wilson
F. A. Williams
J. E. Yelland
W. Young
Birch
R. B. Sidebottom
P. Dickson

NO. 3 COMPANY.

Capt. W. Sheppard
Lieut. R. C. Brown
2nd Lieut. G. Reid
Colour-Sergt. H. J. W. Woodside
Sergt. J. H. H. Hodson
Corp. D. C. Carsells
J. W. L. Thomas
L. H. A. Armstrong
Private W. F. Anderson
C. Anderson
W. Armstrong
H. Browning
L. T. Carpbell
J. Cusitar
W. G. Cooper
S. Cameron
H. Dunn
D. Hendry
A. Hainstock
W. A. Howie
W. Hamilton
T. G. Holmes
W. L. Meeham
J. Matier
F. C. Morrison
V. Murdock
W. McDonald
J. A. McDonald
A. A. McPhail
J. A. McDonnell
J. McElroy
C. Nelson
G. Pullinger
A. Probert
J. A. Rose
T. A. Rushbrook
W. H. Ross
W. H Reid
J. G. Reid
C. J. Sharpe
C. Stevenson
J. A. Sheppard
G. W. Tomlin
C. R. Thompson
W. Wesley

91st Battalion—Continued.

Private W. E Wood
J. S. Wiggins
P. Whimpter
E. S. White
L. Eadie
A. Gaule
R. Wilson

NO. 4 COMPANY.

Capt. S. J. Jackson
Lieut. J. S. Rutherford
2nd Lieut. T. Lusted
Colour-Sergt. E. Ellis
Sergt. E. R. Sutherland
A. Mannix
Corp. H Shanger
A. Gillespie
A. Daly
Private H. Bachume
G. Anderson
A. J. Bell
H. Bowman
J. Bell
H. Boyce
A. Brown
M. Cockerill
H. Collie
J. Dark
S. Dark
H. H. Davies
W. Enclersly
A. Foster
J. Forrester
J. Galbraith
A. Godson
D. Good
N. Good
H. Gyselman
T. Hogg
H. S. Hogg
J. Kennedy
J. Lawrence
B. Lashbrook
H. Lidell
H. Luty
L. G. McDonald
N. McDonald
D. McLeod
D. McIntyre
J. McMahon
S McMahone
J. Montgomery
J. A McVicar
R. Parrott
E. D. Quickfall
E. Riley
A. Smith
D. Smith
G. H. Waterson
G. Wilson

NO. 5 COMPANY.

Capt. J. H. Kennedy
Lieut. A. Cates
2nd Lieut. H. W. A. Chamber
Colour-Sergt. R. Scott
Sergt. A. Bush
A. Patterson
Corp. A. J. Andrew
H. F. Anderson
S. Mulvey
Private F. Baker
H. J. Baker
R. Besant
R. Cameron
R. J. Codling
D. J. S. Connrey
W. Cowan
C. Gayfer
V. G. Hill
A. Hardisty
W. H. Hines
A. E. Johnson
W. James
R. Kinniburgh
V. E. Latimer
A. Lallemand
R. J. Lipsett
H. W. Lester
W. Lockhart
J. W. Lang
W. G. E. Munsell
G. Malcolm
A. B. Murphy
M. R. McDonald
W. McGowan
W. R. McCracken
F. W. Horton
Thos. Alge
H. Quigley
E. A. Rogers
J. E. Rennie
L. B. Stewart
W. Somersall
R. Sheeman
E. H O. Vanden
W D. Wilkinson
T. O. Wilkinson
A. Wilson
C. O. Ward
P. Wood
J. Watson
Leroy Wright
A. Ground

NO. 6 COMPANY.

Capt. J. C. Waugh
Lieut. G. A. Glines
2nd Lieut. H. McKay
Colour-Sergt. W. Nelson
Sergt. H. Morris
H. B. Piggot
Corp. W. Lapointe
F. S. McDonald
R. Munroe
Private W. Hooper
W. Stevenson
Bgl. C. Simmons,
Private R. H. Short
H. Brown
J. J. Buchanan
W. A. Blair
W. Brown
J. Britton
T. Cutting
W. J. Coleman
E. H. H. Clarke
J. Dowling
A. Elliott
C. Fairlie
J. Fox
J. Grey
D. Jones
C. W. Johnstone
J. Kelly
O. Lloyd
W. J. Lockhart
G. Lane
A. Magee
H. Moore
J. Maloney
A. Main
J. Mowat
J. McGregor
C. McGregor
R. McKay
J. McCleod
A. Nelson
W. A. Rannie
A. Roberts
J. S. Swain
W. Thompson
J. Turnbull
R. Taylor
W. Widmeyer
Cruickshank
C. Magee

NO. 7 COMPANY.

Capt. W. H. Nash
Lieut. A. Monkman
2nd Lieut. F. R. Glover
Colour-Sergt. W. Wilson
Sergt. M. McKenzie
G. Gould
Corp. F. Drader
W. A. Matheson
J. A. McArthur
Bgl. F. Mulvey
Private A. Benard
J. Barnes

91st Battalion—Continued.

Private J. Buchanan
J. Bruce
C. Constance
M. Delonney
J. Ellis
H. Ford
G. Galliger
D. Garvie
A. Gogue
J. Gazine
C. Hawrott
R. Hislop
F. B. Horner
W. House
R. Honeywood
J. Jones
J. Kelly
F. Lamotte
J. Lamingen
C. Linklake
C. Lockwood
J. McGregor
L. Megatte
J. McKeown
R. McLeod
R. McLarty
B. Mitchell
F. Naylor
H. Rochellan
S. Raymond
J. Smith
J. Shyne

Private R. Taylor
S. Thomas
P. Williams
M. Williams
Yeoman
R. Ryan

NO. 8 COMPANY.

Capt. J. Crawford
Lieut. A. P. Cameron
2nd Lieut. J. W. Broadgrest
Colour-Sergt. J. Laidler
Sergt. J. W. McLachlan
R. Little
Corp. W. Farrell
Carswell
P. Mitchell
Bgl. S. L. Banowclough
Private Ash
J. Atkinson
J. J. Buchanan
C. Bailey
J. Bosterige
R. Barber
J. S. Buchanan
J. Baker
H. Campbell
J. C. Campbell
R. Demptsey
F. A. Evans

Private B. Everall
J. Elliott
R. Ede
W. H. Fanstone
J. Foreed
J. A. Ferguson
W. G. Howie
E. Hames
S. Johnston
A. Kilburn
W. A. Letang
J. Morrison
P. Mitchell
J. J. Manly
J. Moss
G. Moore
M. McMurchy
J. C. McLean
J. Pattison
E. Potter
J. A. Parker
J. R. Richmond
P. Smith
T. H. Shannon
D. Stewart
H. D. Talbot
J. W. Tait
R. Tidsbury
S. Watson
D. Walker
W. Williams

Winnipeg Troop of Cavalry.

Stationed at Fort Qu'Appelle.

Capt. C. Knight
2nd Lieut. H. J. Shelton
Sergt. Maj. H. H. Schneider
Sergt. J. StL. McGinn
H. G. Hubbell
P. George
Corp. S. Johnson
R. J. Fowler
A. R. Skinner
Tptr. F. Dauphin
Trooper W. Short
H. Cameron

Trooper H. C. Maguire
F. Goodwyn
C. Redfern
H. M. Osborne
H. E. Sabine
E. J. Evans
T. Peebles
E. S. Matheson
H. Linklater
J. Doherty
R. W. Cowan
J. Clare

Trooper C. J. Monson
E. L. Gardinger
Perry Fall
C. A. Talbot
O. C. Franklin
G. M. Jackson
T. J. Wait
A. R. Rule
G. A. Frazer
P. A. Macdonald
C. A. B. Sherwood

Montreal Garrison Artillery.

Stationed at Regina.

Lieut.-Col. W. R. Oswald
Maj. W. H. Laurie
E. A. Baynes
Paymaster W. MacRae
Adj. Maj. F. W. Atkinson

Q.M. G. Forbes
Sgn. C. E. Cameron
Asst.-Sgn. J. M. Elder
Chap. Rev. J. Barc'ay
Brig.-Sergt.-Maj. J. E. Hibbens

Q.M.S. R. Walker
P.M.S. J. D. Cooper
O.R. Clerk T. Maxwell
Hosp.-Sergt. M. Wilkins
Bandmaster T. Newton

Montreal Garrison Artillery—Continued.

NO. 1 BATTERY.

Capt. W. C. Trotter
Lieut. J. D. Roche
W. H. Lulham
B.S.M. G. C. Denham
Sergt. D. Williams
J. Cullen
F. White
E. Locke
J. Gordon
Bom. J. Cleghorn
Tptr. Geo. Clark
Gunner W. J. Pendleton
J. W. Mathiewson
G. Conlin
J. H. Elliott
A. Coote
J. Grove
W. J. Williams
D. Murdoch
F. Notley
G. Donaldson
W. Evans
T. Garv n
J. N. Chipchase
H. J. Higginbotham
W. Spriggins
C. Juster
W. Prince
A. Vanhove
C. Olsen
W. Stagg
J. Courtney
D. Guthrie
G. Orr
W. Norman
G. W. Williams
J. J. Walker
J. Symington
G. Cha-seaux
W. Cle.horn
G. L. Duncan
S. MacRae
Bndsmn. S. McKee
Sergt. C. McKee
Drm. W. Mills
E. Kelly
Gunner J. Tongey

NO. 2 BATTERY.

Capt. F. Brush
Lieut. J. A. Finlayson
B S. M. A. Scott
Sergt. R. M. Bremmer
T. Harper
T. M. Norris
Corp. W. Lee
F. Harris
Bom. W. C. Gooden
J. J. Murray
Tptr. H. A. Shaw
Gunner W. Burke
D. Bremmer
L. Cote
H. Cable
T. Daniel
D. Finlayson
T. Fessenden
J. Cassley
J. Hornblower
J. Perry
J. F. Ryan
T. Telling
J. Tetley
R. Wilson
H Wright
E. D. Wingrave
W. E. Wilson
F. Greenstock
W. Wright
J. Small
W. Murphy
T. Porter
C. Bunbury
R. Blakeley
L. Paquette
G. Deering
A. Sherrad
A. E. White
J. Bolster
T. M. Dobson
J. Hardman
C E. Green
J. E. Isaacson
Bndsmn F. Conway
F. Cline
G. B. Ash

NO. 3 BATTERY.

Lieut. C. Lane
G. C. Patton
B.S.M. J. Richardson
Sergt. W. Brunel
H. A. Howell
S. D. Jones
Corp. W. A. McGuiness
P. McDonald
J. J. Bell
Bom. C. Jackson
R. Brown
A. Cameron
Actg.-Bom. R. Steel
Gunner G. MacNamee
G. McCombes
Thos. Bell
W. Laurie
G. M. Montgomery
F. W. King
Gunner W. J. Barrett
A. Cochrane
W. A. Daniel
T. O'Brien
W. Sannaway
J. Gardiner
J. Harnott
Thos. Cooper
W. Knox
T. D Patton
H. McCulloch
J. Kirkman
T. Hulme
J. McKay
W. Watt
F. Hawkins
T. Owens
A. Hack
P. Scully
J. Booth
T. D. Cameron
S W. Welcher
T. G. W. Williams
Tptr. E. Scott
Drm. Sergt. W. S. Weldon
Drum. Lamb
Bndsmn. W. Lafrance
J. Robertson

NO. 4 BATTERY.

Capt. F. Cole
Lieut. T. W. Chalmers
B.S.M. W. J. Anderson
Sergt A. Ward
W. H. Denman
W. S Dowker
Corp. C. W. Denman
W. A. Boyd
W Morrow
Bom. D. Land
Gunner J. Morrow
W. Greasby
A. Templeton
J. J. Denman
F. Pierson
W. Sheridan
W. Payne
J. N. Scott
R. Findlay
P. Harkness
C. Denman
W. Kerr
J. Waterson
H. Hallworth
W. Bray
W. Eggett
R. J. Brann
R. Murray
G. Pierson
D. McLaren

Montreal Garrison Artillery—Continued.

Gunner J. Hayton
J. Calloban
F. Meyers
J. White
G. N. Gibson
E. T. Rutherford
J. J. Symes
W. Challacomb
M. Maw
G. Parks
A. H. Haycroft
H. Bristow
R. Isaacson
Tptr. E. Hawthorn
Bandsm. W. Robinson
M. Hilliber
R. Barr

NO. 5 BATTERY.

Capt. D. Stevenson
Lieut. Wilgress
B.S.M. J. E. Benton
Sergt. T. C. Clark
J. Drysdale
W. Drysdale
Corp H. Herbet
F. Fyfe
Bomb. W. T. Virtue
H. Hannah
W. Linklater
Gunner G. P. Shrader
Mulholland
T. McCracken
Clendenning
T. Rogerson
W. A. Haney
J. Carter
T. Robinson
Gunner G. Sloan
J. A. Gordon
R. Berry
J. Nichol
W. T. Drane
Johnston
Budd
Rhind
W. Nelson
W. Fradd
W. Pingle
J. Norris
W. G. McDonald
W. G. Cooper
J. McKerness
S. Hamilton
W. H. Millar
W. Hazel
J. McRory
J. Simpson
A. E. McNaughton
G. Walker
Tptr. J. Tunnock
Bandsm. C. Menders
J. Griffiths
T. McHaig
H. Wright
Gunner J. Nickle

NO. 6 BATTERY

Capt. C. H. Levin
Lieut. J. K. Bruce
B. Billings
B.S.M. G. Badshar
Sergt. W. E. Fegan
D. Brophy
Corp. E. Spurr
Bomb. J. Halliday
R. McGlaschan
Bomb. R. Winters
Gunner W. Beck
L. N. Phelph
H. Larkin
W. Fyfe
A. Fyfe
J. W. Lawler
R. Hoimes
R. Massie
W. Dove
W. H. Rose
J. Moodie
W. Anderson
G. Seymour
W. Altison
W. Hay
G. Fraser
J. Larkin
T. Savielle
F. Day
H. F. Turner
W. G. Boyd
E. Kelly
P. Gowling
F. Moore
E. Spence
W. T. Trew
T. Cokers
F. C. Blyth
C. Crownland
T. Kelly
H. C. Hamilton
A. Bouchard
R. Barr
Tptr. E. M. Elliott
Bandsm. R. Aubinchon
T. Robinson
J. Bryson
Gunner McIntosh

9th Voltigeurs of Quebec.

Stationed at Calgary and Gleichen.

Lieut.-Col. Amyot
Maj., Lieut.-Col. Roy
Lieut.-Col Evanturel
Paymstr., Maj. Dugas
Adjt., Capt. Pelletier
Surgeon A. Deblois
Q.M. A. Talbot
Supply Officer Wolsey
Chap. Rev. F. Faguy
Sergt.-Maj. E. Trudel
Hosp.-Sergt. Lebel
Tel.-Op. John Horn

NO. 1 COMPANY.

Capt., Maj. L. E. Frechette
Lieut. G. F. Hamel
Sergt. E. S. Boule
Alf. Dupil
L. Morency
D. Blais
Corp. Royal
Vezina
Private R. E. Dion
P. F. Boulanger
Jules Lefrancois
Leon Guimond
Albert Giguere
John J. Brennan
Jos. Turcotte
G. Roberge
Jos. Bureau
Private A. Curodeau
Elzear Dion
L. O. Lemoine
Chas. Fournier
E. Ouimet
F. Braun
T. Chartier
N. Bernard
Wagner
Fortin
E. Goulet
Nap. Paradis
J. B. Paradis
C. H. Valin
W. Lebel
E. Gabardie

9th Voltigeurs of Quebec—Continued.

NO. 2 COMPANY.

Capt. Fiset
Lieut. Casgrain
Lieut. F. de St. Maurice
Colour-Sergt. Louis Giroux
B. Michaud
Corp. Giroux
Savard
Nap. Chamberland
Lce.-Corp. Fortin
Private Vaillancourt
J. Boucher
D. Lefebvre
A. Soucy
Jos. Laroche
Jos. Blais
James Chamberland
Cam. Chamberland
J. B. Fortin
J. Aubin
Paz. Fortin
J. Boucher
Leon Fortin
C. Laroche
Jos. Giroux
H. Paquet
T. Soucy
G. Mallard
G. Sirois
P. Lafrance
A. Tardiff
J. Corrivean
Lucien Miller
Abraham Martel
C. Delemare

NO. 3 COMPANY.

Capt. Drolet
Lieut. Bailarge
Fiset
Sergt. Cote
Chabot
Blonin
Marcoux
Corp. Marcoux
Deguise
Bgl. E. Patry
Private A. Patry
G. Beauregard
E. Goulet
J. Biron
C. H. Plante
A. Coulombe
J. O. Rousseau
A. Robitaille
J. A. Shehyn
E. Fiset
E. Ouellette
Private J. Nolin
G. Thom
J. B. Bilodeau
L. Lavoie
J. Berube
H. Gingras
E. Touchette
F. Donati

NO. 4 COMPANY.

Capt. E. Garheau
Lieut. G. A. Labranche
Fiset
Sergt. L. Lachance
P. Miller
Corp. O. Matte
P. Jobin
J. Nadeau
Private Jos. Cantin
N. Maheux
G. Marois
A. Julien
L. Blais
J. B. Blais
A. Blais
E Blais
P. Plamondon
O. Landry
P. Pouliot
L. Jodoin
O. Cantin
R. Buteau
T. Danjou
F. Golin
J. B. Bibault
Corriveau
H. Hardy
J. Smith
L. Cartier
O. Dominique

NO. 5 COMPANY.

Capt. F. Pennée
Lieut. J. Dupuis
Dion
Sergt. J. Germain
T. Trudel
J. B. E. Gosselin
O. Hamel
Corp. A. Nolet
Bgl. Trudel
Private T. Samson
L. Rousseau
L. Lechasseur
E. Dubé
L. Boucher
V. Bernier
E. Cote
Private J. Damour
A. Bibeau
T. Guay
E. Bois
J. Tanguay
N. Julien
T. Bonvouloir
J. Corteau
J. Letellier
L. Landry
A. D. Parent
L. Gagnon

NO. 6 COMPANY.

Capt. A. O. Fages
Lieut. Shehy
Sergt. E. Lamontagne
N. Leclerc
Corp. A. G. Deguise
Private P. Fournier
H. Gagnon
S. Papillon
F. X. Mercier
L. Leclerc
A. Davis
Jos. Giguere
P. F. Gosselin
L. Therien
E. Laperriere
F. Asselin
E. Paris
S. Miles
Z. Guimond
Phil. Gingras
J. O. Giguere
R. Miller
J. E. Gosselin
G. Lizotte
A. St. Pierre
E. Simard

NO. 7 COMPANY.

Capt. L. F. Perrault
Lieut. P. Pelletier
J. C. Routhier
Sergt. Chabot
Derrow
Corp. Alex. Boucher
Private F. X. Lemieux
J. A. Edg. Arthur Potvin
L. Allain
H. Roy
A. Laurencelle
P. Jolicœur
T. Blondeau
A. Lavoie
L. Burgoing
N. W. Tanguay

9th Voltigeurs of Quebec—Continued.

Private J. Paradis
P. Poitevin
C. A. Colet
J. Gaumond
R. Godin
J. Bourget
G. Rouleau
P. J. Voyer
A. Bastien
E. Beaudon
A. Rondeau
Private C. Deguise
N. Dorion
J. Delisle

NO. 8 COMPANY.

Capt. LeVasseur
Lieut. C. C. Larue
H. Bieque
Private P. Briere
Private J. Triganne
J. B. Belanger
Edmond Savard
C. Vezina
G. Goulet
E. Rood
O. Bernard
E. Desrosiers
J. Siward
W. Carot

Halifax Provisional Battalion.

Stationed at points on the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Lieut.-Col. J. J. Bremner
Maj. McDonald
Walsh
Paymstr. Garrison
Adjt., Capt. Kenny
Q.M. Coabin
Surgeon Tobin
Asst. Surgeon Harrington
Sergt.-Maj. Gill
Q.M.S. Elliott
P.M.S. Creighton
Hosp. Sergt. Hare
O.R. Clerk Sterling

NO. 1 COMPANY.

Capt. J. E. Curren
Lieut. J. P. Fairbanks
2nd Lieut. A. Anderson
Colour-Sergt. J. Robson
Sergt. P Lowrie
W. West
Corp. N. Tonor
R. A. Sherlock
C. H. Adams
Private C. Kidston
J. Davis
H. S. Harris
J. E. Everett
J. V. Siggins
N. Colwell
J. W. Caldwell
A Berganson
J. Carmichael
R. Fidlea
J. Lannigan
J. T. Marshall
J. Jackson
C. Hunt
E. Kempt
C. Bones
H. Millbury
J. Amlah
E. Emberley
Private G. Chapman
W. Readly
G. Tough
J. Hinds
W. Chapman
T. Morgan
F. Umlah
S. Chapman
D. McDonald
J. Kelly
F. Weatherly
J. Symonds
M. S. Mason
D. Cohen
J. Hunt
G. Gentiles
B. Isner
W. Frawley

NO. 2 COMPANY.

Capt. J. McCrow
Lieut. W. L. Kane
2nd Lieut. R. H. Skimmings
Colour-Sergt. W. D. Hill
Sergt. J. Horsman
J. R. Kiddy
Corp. H. Balcour
W. Corbett
G. Nauftis
Private S. Adams
B. Bremner
J. Bulgar
A. Baker
H Carrol
C. Currul
F. Garnet
G. Harrison
S. Innis
R. W. Jones
G. Jesinghouse
W. Lewis
J. N. Marshall
C. Mannel
Private C. Morris
J. Morash
J. McDonald
B. Noble
J. O'Brien
J. Paul
P. Power
T. Tribble
W. Power
J. Reardon
G. Thornton
S. Tomlin
J. Townsend
W. A. Verge
B. Wallace
G. Wakefield
J. McKinlay
H. Johnston
J. Buckland
F. Cass
J. Dancey

NO. 3 COMPANY.

Capt. B. B. Weston
Lieut. A. Whitman
2nd Lieut. H. A. Hensley
Colour-Sergt. W. Williams
Sergt. T. Williams
J Young
Corp. Harlton
Landridge
Tobey
Private Hughes
Barrowman
Davis
Knowdell
Hiltz
W. Berry
H. Berry
Fisher
Hickey
Morgan
Mulkem

Halifax Provisional Battalion--Continued.

Private McTunis
Miller
McDonald
Cochran
O'Brien
Troop
Romans
Jones
D. Devaney
A. Hare
Alfred Hare
Horton
Anderson
Griffin
Leslie
Driscoll
Cummings
Clark
Watkins
McGrath
Hopkinson
Skinner
Camp
Parker
Murray
Drysdale
Pickering
L. Devaney
Doherty
White
Caldwell
Bgl. Dopph

NO. 4 COMPANY.

Capt. B. H. Humphrey
Lieut. B. Boggs
2nd Lieut. C. E. Cartwright
Colour-Sergt. W. Fluke
Sergt. P. Rasbottom
J. Whitmore
Corp. W. Brooks
J. Crocker
A. King
Private W. Fitzgerald
R. Johnstone
J. Connones
W. N. Young
J. S. Bracket
C. H. Becmish
G. Meden
W. H. Walker
W. J. Tupper
A. Andrews
H. Holland
A. Mahar
J. McDonald
J. Perry
A. Bauld
E. Busby
J. Henderson
R. Flinn
Private W. C. Bishop
H. Hill
J. Barrett
M. Lawless
J. Hill
J. Latter
A. Bone
E. McLean
A. Thomas
L. Power
W. Edmunds
J. C. Caldwell
J. A. Nuggins
J. Hubley
J. Leninham
S. Saunders
C. Lereman
J. Keilley
L. Power
A. Anderson
D. Flinn
M. O'Brien
D. Wilson
C. H. Keating
J. Deluchey
D. Kouse
J. F. Fitzgerald
F. Clerk
T. P. Kyley
E. Volins
A. Dorey
J. Evans
Lucas

NO. 5 COMPANY.

Capt. C. H. McKinley
Lieut. J. A. Bremner
2nd Lieut. J. A. McCarthy
Colour-Sergt. T. Lambert
Sergt. G. Bannister
W. McDowell
R. Locke
Corp. Curry
R. G. Merton
J. S. Murphy
Private C. Malcolm
J. Oakley
J. Bommer
J. Cooler
T. Bishop
T. Laurie
G. Lightziger
W. Johnstone
J. Harrigan
G. Valot
W. Martin
G. Parker
C. Brodey
C. J. Quinan
J. Murphy
A. Dauphiner
Private J. Meldham
A. Wilson
P. McGrath
T. J. McDermot
D. Graham
J. Thornton
W. Muligh
S. Frickleton
W. Street
W. Wills
J. Blackburn
H. Whittle
S. Withers
W. McDonald
J. Morrison
J. Young
C. Smith
C. Seals
E. Gabriel
W. Melick
J. Keleg
W. Ryan
J. Murphy
C. Porter
R. Little
A. Morris
G. Mills
T. Ham
Bgl. J. S. Von Schoofe

NO. 6 COMPANY.

Capt. H Heckler
Lieut. H. S. Silver
2nd Lieut. J. C. James
Colour-Sergt. A. G. Kenzie
Sergt. J. E. Conrad
M. C. Mumford
Corp. W. Meyers
M. Keefe
W. A. Emmerson
Private C. S. Pickford
J. S. McKay
P. Humphrey
McIntosh
W. A. Mott
R. H. Munnies
C. O. Cameron
E. Harris
W. D. C. Spike
J. S. Creighton
S. B. Woodland
A. Muir
C. N. Mumford
J. W. Watt
J. Sullivan
E. P. Story
H. Quick
N. J. A. Vogel
D. Gray
H Andrew
R. Taple

Halifax Provisional Battalion—Continued.

Private J. Conrad
J. Earle
H. P. Wood
W. W. Hesson
D. L. Wood
D. Taeffe

NO. 7 COMPANY.

Capt. Cunningham
Lieut. Swinney
2nd Lieut. C. R. Fletcher
Colour-Sergt. Dixon
Sergt. Reynolds
Woolrich
Corp. Beyanson
Brown
Hunter
Private Chisholm
Gibson
Sullivan
Hoare
Shidd
Blackwood
Blackmore
J. H. Brown
H. E. Fraser
Private G. Fraser
L. Fraser
W. H. Fraser
Hulls
McKenzie
McNabb
McLeod
Mitchener
Muroe
Mylins
Penty
Peveral
Patterson
G. Romans
G. Romans
Ross
Shaw
Sutcliffe
Theakston

NO. 8 COMPANY.

Capt. Jas. Fortune
Lieut. O. J. McKie
2nd Lieut. C. K. Fisk
Colour-Sergt. M. F. Cullen
Sergt. C. Povin
Sergt. H. W. Oldham
Corp. E. O'Donnell
R. Dalrymple
G. Cunningham
Private T. Samson
J. Gorman
C. B. Nailor
P. Fleming
R. Schrage
G. Burges
F. Byers
C. Monaghan
K. Hughes
T. O'Donnell
J. O'Neil
D. Gormally
J. Scrum
W. Anderson
E. Monaghan
C. Waterfield
F. Marwick
G. Lowry
J. O'Donohue
T. Brackett
W. Kennedy
C. Harris
A. E. Bateman
Bgl. C. W. Kelly

Rocky Mountain Rangers.

Stationed at Fort McLeod and Lethbridge.

NO. 1 TROOP.

Major John Stewart
Capt. Lord Boyle
Lieut. Jas. R. Scott
2nd Lieut. Hon. H. Boyle
Sergt.-Maj. Wm. H. Heath
Sergt. George H. P. Austin
William Jackson
Howard Lovejoy
Montague Adamson
Corp. Charles Kinlock
Anson Ely
Frank Fisher
Scout John G. Brown
Arron A. Vice
John M. Robson
Trooper Henry M. Robson
Timothy Quirk
James Wheatley
Albert D. Holbrook
Albert W. Robson
Charles Thornton
John Morgan
George Lewis
George A. Mercier
Charles Wachter
Charles Bowen
William Hamilton
Trooper Fred. C. Judemick
James W. Carruthers
Arthur Stafford
John Davis
Peter C. Parker
Edward Hasson
Edward Gallagher
Albert E. Kertcher
Alex. W. McBride
Charles Hildreth
Richard Powers
William J. Patterson
George Holt
Adjt. Duncan Jas. Campbell
Sgn. George Deveber, M.D.

NO. 2 TROOP.

Capt. Edward Gilpin Brown
Lieut. William F. Powell
James Christie
Sergt. Fred. Mountain
William McCord
Alexander Gordon
Corp. Benj. McCord
David J. Wylie
William D. Armstrong
Trooper George Welch
John W. Little
Trooper Joseph Simmons
James Simmons
Albert Martin
Henry Hall
Frederick S. Elliott
Joseph P. Purviance
Arthur Gray
Arthur Morris
James T. Routledge
Lionel Brooke
Alfred F. Willis
Edward Larkins
James F. Stock
Edward N. Barker
George W. Hall
James Collins
Malcolm McNaught
Thomas E. Dawson
William Edmonds
Frank Fontien
Frank Fetch
Charles Langland
Frederick T. Young
Henry Haymes
William Chute

NO. 3 TROOP.

Capt. John Herron

Rocky Mountain Rangers—Continued.

Lieut. George C. Ives
Charles Smith
Sergt.-Maj. Jas. B. Brennan
Sergt. James H. Schofield
Albert A. McCullough
Chas. G. Geddis
Corp. Frank LeVasseur
Harold J. Smith
Samuel Leper
Trooper A. H. L. Staunton
Charles Kettles
Alex. M. Morden
Trooper Henry E. Hyde
Arthur E. Cox
Thomas Cyr
Thomas Hinton
John H. G. Bray
William Allan
Samuel Sharper
Charles E Harris
Adolph Cyr
Albert Connelly
Thomas B. Watson
Peter McEwen
Trooper Wm. Carruthers
William Reid
Maxime Broulette
William R. Lees
Ernest Hausen
John Brown
Fredk. Delkinton
L. G. Willoch
Daniel Wannamaugher
Eugene Chamberlain

Moose Mountain Scouts.

Stationed at Moose Mountain.

Capt. G. W. R. White
Lieut. R. F. Jackson
Sergt.-Maj. W. E. Morgan
Sergt. J. G. Stone
J. Ironside
Corp. J. Harpelle
F. Duffy
H. Sikes
W. Hartley
G. Thorburn
J. Gordon
Trooper H. Lovelace
W. Elson
T. Metcalfe
D. Caddy
H. Whiteworth
W. Hermiston
Trooper J. Ferguson
J. Fraser
H. Sherwood
G. McHarvin
A. Burnham
C. Lapthorne
G. Leggatt
J. G. Dysart
G. Bentley
T. Minter
J. Kenmus
J. Cowan
F. Carson
K. MacLeod
F. Honidge
C. Holmes
T. Johnson
Trooper J. Harris
G. Wright
W. McMillan
A. Leech
S. Palin
G. Carden
W. Roffey
R. Sanders
A. Williamson
J. Bastein
J. G. Smith
A. Weeks
R. Metcalfe
J. Kennedy
J. Mahon

Yorkton Militia Corps.

Stationed at Moose Mountain.

Major T. Charles Watson
Sgt.-Maj. E. W. G. Gardiner
Surgeon Jas. D. Stevenson
Sergt. John Wellbery
Alvah Langstaff
John M. R. Neeley
Colour-Sergt. Hy. B. J. Tydd
Corp. Daniel Cadzon
Charles H. Smith
Cosmo J. McFarlin
William H. Meredith
Hugh B. McConnell
W. P. Hopkins
John Stevenson
George Seatter
Thomas H. Garry
R. Hopkins
David Webb
Joseph Sanderson
John F. Reid
Private Edward Stanton
E. A. Partridge
Private Daniel Reid
A. McFarland
F. J. Emerson
Robert Sinclair, jr.
George Newlove
John King
Francis W. Bull (disabled from joining).
John McEachran
William F. Miller
Robert A. Mason
George H. Douglas
Alfred Cole
Donald McEachran
Thomas Moore
William Digby
James Sinclair
William Reid
Wm. J. Brine
T. B. Bolton
William Rechie
Herman Langstaff
Private Joseph Clucas
George Gordon
William Kumph
William H. Miller
Joseph Caldwell
Norman W. Boake
Robert Maddaford
Thos. N. Bolton
Robert Garvin
Willis Tracy
Robert Moore
William Samuel Tulloch
David S. Dunsmore
Frank F. Cortissos
W. Thos. Smith
George S. Thomson
Christopher McCallum
Edwd. W. Boake
G. A. Boake
George Evans
Frank Waterfield

Medical Staff.

HEADQUARTERS, WINNIPEG.

Lieut.-Colonel Jackson, P.S. and P.O.
Lieut.-Col. Whitehead, Chief Commissariat Officer.
Major Guy, Paymstr. North-West Field Force
Maj. Vaughan, Clk. Stores Department
Lieut.-Col. Peebles, Supply Officer
Lieut.-Col. H. Montague, Supply Officer
Lieut.-Col. D. A. Macdonald, Supply Officer
Capt. John Allan, Transport Officer
Lieut. G. Bates, Transport Officer

QU'APPELLE.

Lieut.-Col. Forrest, Quarter Master to the Officers
Maj. Bell, Transport Officer
Captain Swinford, Supply Officer

STAFF AT BASE.

Maj.-Gen. Laurie, General Trans. Officer, Moosejaw
Lieut. Dickson
Miller
Leonard
Major Rickards

FIELD HOSPITAL NO. 1.

Deputy Surgeon Gen'l T. G. Roddick
Prvr. Gen. Hon. Dr. Sullivan
Surgeon Maj. C. M. Douglass
James Bell
Edward A. Graveley
Robert Tracy
Fred. Hamilton Powell
W. W. Doherty
Robert Reddick
George T. Orton, M.P.
Alex. Kennedy
Surgeon E. E. King
James S. Freebourn
Henry Albert Wright
Dresser A. N. Worthington
John A. Kinloch
Alexander D. Stewart
William B. A. Hill
N. P. Caven
John Caven
Thomas McKenzie
Herman Lewis McInnes
William A. B. Hutton
James Preston McIntyre
Herbert George Wilson
W. R. McIntyre Pringle
W. J. Bradley
A. J. Macdonnell
Orderly Donald Alma McPherson
James J. Lawson
John Foran
Henry Filteau
H. H. Arrowsmith

BATTLEFORD FIELD HOSPITAL.

Brig. Sgn. Fred. W. Strange
Surgeon Joseph W. Leslie
Hosp.-Sergt. Steward Labat
Dresser D. Jones
D. Patullo
Wood
Weld

SASKATOON HOSPITAL.

Surgeon John H. C. Willoughby

FIELD HOSPITAL NO. 2.

Sgn. Maj. Henry Raymond Casgrain
Surgeon N. O. Walker
Ebenezar Hooper
Philippe Pelletier
Edouard Odina Cloutier
Francis Murray
Dresser W. J. McCuaig
Alfred R. Turnbull
James Melville McKay
Dresser James F. Williams
Frederick J. White
Andrew J. Schmidt
Edwin R. Bishop
William F. Graham
Nathaniel Aikins
Samuel Thomas Bell
Thomas Jos. McDonald
Frederick Winnett
John M. Thompson
Thos. Francis Campbell
Riel Hillier
Arthur E. Collins
James Rea
James Park
Wesley H. Wilbur
William T. Lawless
William Francke
Peter Cook Nugent

WINNIPEG HOSPITAL STAFF.

Sgn. Maj. James Kerr
Asst. Sgn. F. H. Newburn
Edward Benson
Apothecary A. S. Thompson
Hosp. Sgt.-Maj. Albert Olver
Capt. Hosp. Orderlies John Robert Steep
Dresser John M. Ferguson
Inspector of Winnipeg Hospital, Thomas Ritchie Almar

ATTACHED TO HOSPITAL CORPS FROM 90TH BATTALION.

Asst. Surgeon F. A. Moore
Dresser Henry Gesling
Duke W. Cowan

PURVEYORS STAFF.

Purveyor General Hon. M. Sullivan
Sec'y. to Purveyor John Peter Tobin

SURGEON GENERAL STAFF.

Surgeon Gen'l Darby Bergin
Sec'y John A. Polkinghorn

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